Nasr d'din Mahommed Shah
Present Emperor of Hindostan.
From an Original

T. Hulett

THE HISTORY OF NADIR SHAH,

Formerly called

Thamas Kuli Khan,

The Present Emperor of PERSIA.

To which is prefix'd

A short History of the *Moghol* Emperors.

At the End is inserted,

A CATALOGUE of about Two Hundred MANUSCRIPTS in the *Persic* and other *Oriental* Languages, collected in the East.

By *JAMES FRASER.*

LONDON:

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TO

Dr. *Richard Mead*,

Physician to the KING,

FELLOW of the College of

PHYSICIANS in *LONDON*,

of the

ROYAL SOCIETY,

THESE Sheets (as a grateful Acknowledgment of the Favours received) are, with great Submission, dedicated by

His most obliged

Humble Servant,

JAMES FRASER.

THE

PREFACE.

AS the Public is ever favourable to Works of this Nature, I shall make no Apology for the present Undertaking. But to satisfy my Readers what Pains I have been at not to impose upon them, and what Opportunities I have had of being informed, I beg leave to present them with a short Account of the following Sheets.

The Abstract of the Moghol History, extracted from the 6th Vol. of Tarikh Rozit al Suffa, Wakeât Babri, Mucti Jehanguîry, Padshanama, and Tarikh Alumguîri, &c. A particular Account of which will be found in the Catalogue of Manuscripts at the End of the

the Book. As I have so large and choice a Collection of Eastern Histories for that Purpose, the Authenticks of it will not be disputed.

As to that Part which gives an Account of the State of Affairs in the Moghol *Empire before the* Persian *Invasion, with the Springs that effected the same, I have translated it from a* Persian *Manuscript sent to Dr.* Mead, *by* Humfries Cole *Esq; Chief of the* English *Factory at* Patna *in the* East-Indies. *That the Facts therein are true, I am well assured; having myself lived in* India *above Ten Years, the last Three of which, I held a constant Correspondence with some* Persians *and* Moghols *there, and that frequently on the Subject of* Nadir Shah's *Expedition.*

The Account of Nadir Shah's *first Exploits I have been favoured with from a Gentleman now in* England, *who resided several Years in* Persia, *speaks that Language, and has been frequently in Company with that Conqueror.*

The Journal of his Transactions in India, *with the Letters and Cession of the Provinces, were transmitted from* Dehli, *by the Secretary of* Sirbullind Khan *(whom* Nadir Shah *had appointed to be one of the Commissioners*

for

for levying the Contributions) to Mirza Moghol, *Son to* Ali Mahommed Khan at Ahmedabad, *who being my intimate Friend, gave it to me.*

I have been as full in the Notes as possible, and explained whatever Terms I thought required it: Several proper Names and Words I have expressed in the Original Characters, which I thought would be entertaining to those who know any Thing of the Arabic *or* Persic, *and not disagreeable even to those who do not, as they are immediately after set down in* Roman *Characters, with a proper Explanation. As several of those Terms have occured more than once, I have annexed an Index of them, referring to the Page in which they are particularly explained.*

In the Abstract of the Moghol *History, I have reduced the Dates of the* Hegira *to the Year of our Lord, but in the remaining Part I have kept the Original Dates, and put ours in the Notes.*

The learned Reader will please to observe, that in two or three Persic *Words, I have been obliged to make use of the Letter* B. *instead of* P *there being no such Letter in the* Arabic *Types, which I have been favoured with by the* Society for propagating Christian Knowledge,

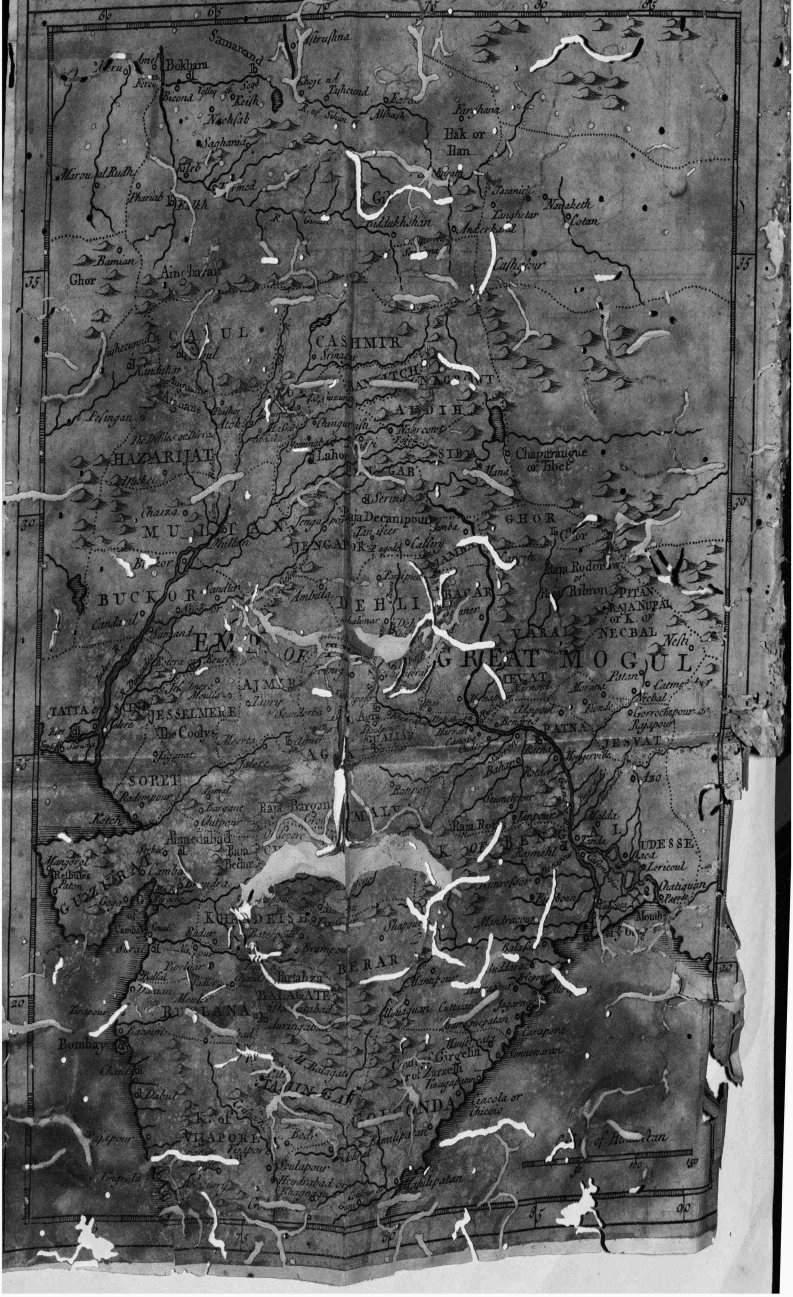
ledge, *at the Recommendation of his Lordship the Bishop of* Litchfield *and* Coventry.

The Oriental Manuscripts, of which I have annexed a Catalogue at the End of these Sheets, have been collected from the Year 1730 *to* 1740, *and purchased with no small Labour and Expence, at* Surat, Cambay, *and* Ahmedabad *in the* East-Indies; *excepting a few which I bought at* Mocha *in* Arabia, *from some* Persians *who passed that Way on their Pilgrimage to* Mecca.

The first Master under whom I studied the Persic, *was a* Parsi, *(or one of the Race of the ancient* Persians) *now at* Surat. *The second was a* Mullah *of one of the Mosques there, whose Name is* Fakhr o'dîn. *When I was at* Cambay, *I studied under* Shékh Mahommed Morad, *a Man famous in those Parts for his Knowledge of the* Mahommedan *Civil and Ecclesiastical Laws. During my Stay in that Place, I employ'd Other three Hours each Day with one* Srî Nât Veaz, *a learned* Brahmin, *whom I allowed a Salary on that Account; it was by his Means I procured my* Sanscrit *Manuscripts, which (I believe) is the first Collection of that Kind ever brought into* Europe.

A MAP of the MOGHOL EMPIRE and Part of TARTARY.

This Map has been Copied from one of the most Correct of this kind extant, and is pretty exact, excepting a few of the distances. The names of several places which before were much Corrupted, are here properly expressed.


Samarcand
Bokhara
Hak or Ilan
Bamian
Ghor
CAUL
CASHMIR
HAZARIJAT
Lahore
Decampour
GHOR
BUCKOR
DEHLI
GREAT MOGUL
AJMIR
JESSELMERE
The Codys
TATTA
SOREET
Ahmedabad
Bombay
Goreelin
Tuticoreen
Tanjapour
Calicut
Cochin
Cambaya
Dabul
Bulsapour
Hyderabad
Bangalore
Seringapatam
Pondichery
Pegu
Ava
Siam
Tonquin
Cochinchina
Champaranque or Tibet
Rajanipal or K. of Nepal
Patan
Patna
Jenat
Udesse
Berar
Bengal
Malabar
Coromandel
Ceylon
Sea of Ceylon
Sea of Tartary
Sea of Bengal
Sea of Arabia
Sea of Persia
Sea of Japan
Sea of Siam
Sea of China
Sea of Tonquin
Sea of Java
Sea of Sumatra
Sea of Celebes
Sea of Borneo
Sea of Philippines
Sea of Molucca
Sea of Ternate
Sea of Timor
Sea of Banda
Sea of Gilolo
Sea of Papua
Sea of Ceram
Sea of Bantam
Sea of Malacca
Sea of Sunda
Sea of Cambodia
Sea of Tonquin
Sea of Cochinchina
Sea of Siam
Sea of Pegu
Sea of Ava
Sea of Bengal
Sea of Malabar
Sea of Coromandel
Sea of Ceylon
Sea of Arabia
Sea of Persia
Sea of Tartary
Sea of Japan

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A SHORT

HISTORY

OF THE

HINDOSTAN Emperors of the *Moghol* Race, beginning with TEMUR.

TEMUR, * the Son of *Emir Targhai Khan* and *Takina Khatun*, was born on the 6th of *April*, 1336. during the Government of *Kazan Khan*, in the City of *Keish*, (commonly call'd *Shehr-sobz*,

* تیمور *Temur* is known in *Europe* by the Name of *Tamerlane*, a Corruption of تیمور لنك *Temur Lung*, which signifies *Lame Temur*, an Appellative seldom or never given him by the Eastern Historians. His Name and Titles at Length are قطب الدنیا و الدین امیر تیمور کورکان صاحب قران *Koteb al Dunia v'al dîn Amir Temur Gourgan Saheb é Kéran*, which is to say, The

sobz, or the *Green City)* which is one Stage † distant from *Samarcand*: And on the 8th of *April*, 1370, then aged 35 ‡ Lunar Years and 17 Days, sat on the Throne in the City of *Baikh*. From which Time until his Death, which was Thirty-five Years Eleven Months and Five Days, he subdued the better Part of the Earth, and obtain'd Victories that might eclipse the Glory of all the Exploits before his Time. He conquered *Mawaralnahr* (or *Trans-oxane Tartary*) *Biddukhshan*, *Khwarism*, *Turkestan*, *Zabulistan*, *Kabul*, *Ghor* and *Hin-*

The Axis of (or on whom turns round) the World and Religion, Prince *Temur* of *Gourgan*, Lord of the Conjunction; it being said, there was a fortunate Conjunction of the Planets at his Birth. قطب *Koteb* literally signifies the Pole or Extreme of the Axis; a Part being put to signify the Whole. *Temur* signifies hardy, and strong, being deriv'd from the *Tartar* Word تمر *Temr*, Iron, which the modern *Turks* by Corruption write دمر *Demr*.

† The Stages, which in *Tartary* and *Persia* they call منزل *Manzel*, are from 25 to 30 *English* Miles.

‡ The Lunar Year they reckon 354 Days, 22 Gurris, 1 Pull. The Solar Year they reckon 365 Days, 15 Gurris 30 Pulls, 22½ Peels; 60 Peels making 1 Pull, 60 Pulls 1 Gurri, and 60 Gurris 1 Day. This is according to the *Bramim*'s or *Indian* Priest's Calculation, and what the *Moghols* and other *Mahommedans* in *India* chiefly go by.

dostan

doſtan * as far as *Dehli*, all *Aſia Minor*, *Syria* and *Egypt*.

In the Year 1398, he ſet out on his Expedition to *India*; and on the 16th of *December* the ſame Year, he took the Capital *Dehli*, having then an Army of near 100,000 Horſe. But finding a general Conqueſt of *India* would be attended with much Difficulty, and the keeping it afterwards impracticable, he bent his Thoughts on an Expedition againſt the *Turks*; and Three Years Eight Months after the taking of *Dehli*, in the latter End of 1401, with an Army of near 200,000 Horſe he ſet out againſt *Eildirm* || *Baiazed*, the Son of *Sultan Morad Khan* (corruply call'd *Amurath*); and on the 18th of *July*, 1402, on the Plains of *Angoria* in *Galatia*, defeated him and his numerous Army. On the 19th at Night *Baiazed*,

* *India* in the Eaſt is known by the Name of هندوستان *Hindoſtan*, which ſignifies the Country of the *Hindu's* or ſwarthy People, هندو *Hindu* being ſwarthy or black. The Capital thereof is دهلي *Dehli*, which ſince *Shah Jehan* removed thither from *Agra*, is as often known by the Name of شاه جهان اباد *Shah Jehanabad*, or *Shah Jehan's* Habitation.

|| ايلدرم *Eildirm*, which in the *Turkiſh* Language ſignifies Lightning, was *Baiazéd's* Sirname.

with his Son *Mousa*, were taken Prisoners, and presented to him.

After this Victory, all *Asia Minor* submitted to him, and the *Khotbah* * was read at *Mecca* and *Medina* in his Name.

On *Wednesday* the 8th of *February*, 1405, while on his Expedition to *Khata* †, he died at the Village *Atrar*, which is distant from *Samarcand* Seventy-six *Farsangs* ‡. His Body was brought to *Samarcand*, and buried in a Tomb, which he himself had caused to be erected for that Purpose, having lived Seventy Years, Eleven Months and Twenty-two Days.

His Sons were,

1. *Jehanguir Mirza*, who died in 1374, at *Samarcand*, in *Temur*'s Life-time, aged Twenty Years.

2. *Shekh Aumar Mirza*, who was kill'd in *Temur*'s Life-time, in *January* 1394. being Forty Years old.

* خطبه *Khotbah* is the Harangue read by the *Mullahs* on *Fridays* in the Mosques, in which the Prince who then governs is mention'd and pray'd for.

† خطا *Khata* or *China*.

‡ فرسنگ *Farsang* is about four *English* Miles.

3. *Mirza*

3. *Mirza Miran Shah*, born in 1367-8, and kill'd the 9th of *April*, 1408.

4. *Shahrokh Mirza*, who reigned after his Father for the Space of Forty-three Lunar Years and Four Months, and died in *March*, 1447, having lived Seventy-two Years.

Sultan Mahommed Mirza

Was the Son of *Mirza Miran Shah*, who with his Brother *Mirza Khulil* lived at *Samarcand*, and in the Reign of their Uncle *Shahrokh* they both died. The precise Times of their Birth and Death are not recorded in any authentic History.

Sultan Abuseyd Mirza,

The Son of *Sultan Mahommed Mirza*, was born in 1427. sat on the Throne at the Age of Twenty-five, and on the 18th of *May* 1469, was kill'd, having reigned Eighteen Lunar Years, and lived Forty-three.

Aumar Sherh Mirza,

The Fourth Son of *Sultan Abuseyd Mirza*, was born at *Samarcand* in 1456. After his Father's

Father's Death he held Possession of *Farghana*, *Khogend* and *Auratia* (anciently call'd *Astrushna*) and died on the 7th of *June*, 1494, having lived Thirty-nine Lunar Years.

ZEHIR ‡ O'DIN MAHOMMED BABR,

The Son of *Aumar Shekh Mirza*. The best History of his Actions, is the Commentaries wrote by himself, call'd *Vakeat Babri* ||. He was born the 12th of *February*, 1483. and on the the 8th of *June*, 1494, aged Eleven Lunar Years, Seven Months, and Twenty-nine Days sat on the Throne at *Andjan*. While he governed in *Mawarralnahr*, he had frequent Conflicts with *Shaban Khan Oushek*. After conquering *Cabul*, *Kan-*

‡ Formerly the *Khalifs* gave Titles to the *Mahommedan* Princes; such as Defender of Religion, the Champion of Religion, &c. And since the Destruction of their Empire, the Princes have assumed such as they liked best. سلطان بابر *Sultan Babr* took the Title of ظهير الدين *Zehir o'din*, the Supporter of Religion; and the Name محمد *Mahommed*, which signifies prais'd, is prefix'd (or understood to be so) to almost every *Mussulman*'s Name.

|| واقعات بابري *Vakeat Babri*, signifies *Babr*'s Occurrences.

dahar,

Bahar, *Biddukhshan*, *Ghoznavi*, and the Places dependant on them, he made five different Expeditions into *Hindostan*. In the first Four he was unsuccessful; but in the Fifth, on the 1st of *May*, 1526, near the Village *Maltia*, he gave Battle to *Sultan Ibrahim Loudi*, who had 100,000 Afghans *, and 1000 armed Elephants, and totally defeated him, and that numerous Army, tho' he had scarcely 12,000 effective Men.

He afterwards subdued all that Empire, excepting the Kingdoms of *Deccan*, *Guzerat*, and *Bengal*. Eleven Months and Five Days after this Battle, he engaged *Rana Sanga*, the most powerful of the *Indian* Princes; and tho' the Army of the latter was incredibly numerous, and had many armed Elephants, he got the Victory.

He died on the 25th of *December*, 1530, in *Charbaghi* near *Agra*, on the Banks of the River *Chun* †, from whence his Body was carried to be interred in *Cabul*, having lived

* افغان *Afghans* are the several Tribes of *Mahomedans*, who inhabit the Northern Parts of *India*; there are some of them spread all over *India*, known often by the Name of *Pattans*; they are esteem'd the best Soldiers in the Country.

† The River *Chun*, is often call'd *Jum*[illegible]

Forty-

Forty-nine Lunar Years, Four Months, and One Day; and reigned Thirty-seven Years, Eight Months, and Two Days: Thirty-two Years Ten Months and Three Days before the Conquest of *India*; and Four Years Nine Months and Twenty-nine Days after the Conquest thereof.

NESSÎR ‡ O'DÎN MAHOMMED HEMAIUN,

Son to *Zehîr o'dîn Mahommed Babr*, was born in the Castle of *Cabul*, on the 4th of *March*, 1508; and on the 28th of *December*, 1530, sat on the Throne at *Agra*.

In *November*, 1534, he set out to conquer *Malva* and *Guzerat*. *Sultan Bahadr*, who had engaged with him, and was defeated, fled to *Mundou*; and being pursued, went from thence to *Chanpanere*; from *Chanpanere* to *Canbaet* (or *Cambay*); and from *Canbaet* to *Diu*. *Hemaiûn* after staying some Time at *Canbaet*, return'd.

Having, in the Year 1535, subdued *Malva* and *Guzerat*, in 1538 he conquer'd *Bengal*; but in 1540, being forsaken by his good

‡ همايون *Hemaiûn* took the Title of ناصر الدين *Nessir o'dîn* the Assister of Religion.

Fortune,

Fortune, he was driven out of his Country by the Usurper *Sher Khan* the *Afghan*, from which he was absent five Years five Months and fifteen Days. The Particulars of which, with his Reception in *Persia*, and the Assistance given him by *Shah Thamas*, Son to *Shah Ismael* is fully set forth in *Akbarnama* ||, *Padshahnama*, *Tebcat Akbarshahi*, *Tarikh-alum Arai*, and *Montékheb al Tuarikh Bedaoni*, being too prolix to insert here. At last, on the 1st of *September*, 1545, he took *Kandahar* from *Mirza Askeri*, who govern'd it as *Mirza Camran's* Deputy; and on the 16th of *November*, 1545, he took *Cabul* from *Mirza Camran*; and in the Spring 1546, conquer'd *Biddakhshan* from *Mirza Suliman*, who had revolted and taken the Government thereof into his own Hands. In the Beginning of *December*, 1554, he set out from *Cabul* for *Hindostan*; and on the 22d of *February*, 1555, came to *Lahor*. On the 27th of *May*, the same Year, he came to *Serhind*; and on the 20th of *June*, encounter'd and defeated *Secandir Sour*. This

|| These are five Histories; the first three and the Fifth of the *Moghol* Emperors, and the Fourth of the *Persian* Kings of the *Seffi* Race.

Secandir was Son-in-Law to the Usurper *Shér Khan*. His first Name was *Ahmed*, and he governed *Panjab* * under *Selim Khan*, after whose Death he took the Government into his own Hands, calling himself *Secandir*, and possessing all from the River *Scind* † to the *Ganges*.

On the 24th of *January*, 1556, *Hemaiun* departed this Life, and was buried in a Monument erected on the Banks of the River *Chun*, having lived Forty-nine Lunar Years, Four Months and Ten Days, and reigned Twenty-five Years Ten Months and Five Days.

JILAL ‡ O'DÎN MAHOMMED AKBAR,

Son to *Nessir o'dîn Mahommed Hemaiun*, was born in the Fort of *Amrkowt* on the 12th of

* بنجاب *Panjab* is the ancient Name of the Province of *Lahor*; it signifies the five Waters or Rivers, so many running through that Province and falling into the River *Scind*.

† The River سند *Scind*, is that known by the Name of the *Indus*.

‡ اكبر *Akbar* took to himself the Title of جلال الدين *Jilal o'dîn*, which signifies, the *Aggrandizer of Religion*.

October, 1542; and on the 12th of *February*, 1556, being then Thirteen Solar Years and Four Months old, was proclaimed Emperor at *Calanore* in the Province of *Lahor*. He was reckon'd a great and good Prince, and was very fortunate, having in his Reign made several Conquests, and reduced almost all *India* to Obedience. The Particulars of which are to be seen in *Akbarnama*, a History compos'd by his Secretary and Vizir *Abul Fazl* *, and in *Tebcat Akbar Shahi*, and *Montekheb Tuarikh Bedaunni*. As he was professedly fixed to no Religion himself, so he was a Persecutor of none. In 1582 he wrote a Letter to the King of *Portugal*, desiring he would send to him a Translation of the Scriptures into *Arabic* or *Persian*, and at the same

* ابو الفضل *Abul Fazl* was the Title given to this Great Man, and signifies, *the Father of Excellence*. His Writings testify him to be the most learned, and the best Writer then in the East. He was murder'd by Order of سلطان سليم *Sultan Selim*, on Suspicion of being the Occasion of a Misunderstanding that was betwixt him and the Emperor his Father. *Akbar* greatly lamented his Death, and so did all who had any Regard for Letters; he having left several Things unfinish'd. His *History of the Moghol Emperors*, he carried on to the 38th Year of *Akbar*'s Reign.

 Time

Time a learned Person to explain the Christian Religion. One *Geronimo Xavier*, a Relation of the famous *St. Francis Xavier*, was sent; who having learned the *Persian*, in the Year 1602, presented the *Moghol* with the Gospels translated into that Language, entirely intermix'd with their Legends, which he imagin'd would make it the more acceptable to *Akbar*. As I thought the Letter would not be disagreeable to some of the Readers, I have inserted a Translation of it, in which I have kept as close to the Original as possible.

*A Letter from the King of Kings to the Ruler * of the* Franks.

" GLORY inconceivable to the TRUE
" KING, whose Dominions are safe
" from the Disaster of Decay, and his King-

* As the *Portuguese* had made several Conquests on the Coasts of *India*, it is probable *Akbar* imagin'd their King was the most powerful Prince in *Europe*, and so calls him فرمان روای فرنك *Firman revai Farang*, *the Ruler of the Franks* or *Europeans*.

It is customary with the *Muhommedans* to begin, not only in their Letters, but also most of their other Writings; first, with the Praise of [illegible] and then with the Praise of the Prophet.

" dom

"dom secure from the Calamity of shift-
"ing. The wonderful Extent of the Heavens
"and Earth is but a minute Part of the
"World of his Creation, and infinite Space
"but a small Corner of his Production.
"A GOVERNOR who has regulated the Or-
"der of the Universe, and the Management
"of the Sons of *Adam*, by the Understand-
"ing of Kings who exercise Justice. A De-
"creer, who by the Ties of Love and Bonds
"of Affection, has implanted in the various
"Beings and several Creatures the Passion
"of Inclination and Union, and the Affec-
"tions of mutual Tendency and Society.

"And Praises unbounded, an Offering to
"the pure Souls of the Company of Pro-
"phets ‡ and Apostles, who walked in the
"truest Paths, and directed the righteous
"Ways, in general and particular.

"It is well known that (with those who
"have stored themselves with Knowledge
"and studied Nature) nothing in this lower
"World, which is a Mirror of the spiritual
"one, is preferable to Love, or more sacred
"than Friendship. In that they ascribe the

‡ As *Akbar* of the no-found *Mussulman* he makes no particular mention of *Mahommed.*

"Oecono-

" Oeconomy and right Disposition of the
" World to Affection and Harmony. For
" whatever Heart the Sun of Love shines on,
" it clears the whole Soul from the Darkness
" of Mortality; and how much more is this
" requisite in Princes, the good Correspon-
" dence of whom is the Cause of Happi-
" ness to the World and the People therein.
" For which Reason it has been my earnest
" and entire Endeavour to promote and con-
" firm the Ties of Friendship and Bonds of
" Union among God's Creatures, especially
" among the high Rank of Kings, whom
" God by his Favour has peculiarly distin-
" guished from the rest of Mankind; par-
" ticularly with his * Royal Majesty, who is
" endowed with intellectual Knowledge, is
" the Reviver of the Ordinances of Jesus, and
" stands in no Need of Praise or Description.
" Our Neighbourhood † with that renown'd
" Prince making an Alliance and Friendship
" more indispensibly necessary; and as a
" personal Conference is impracticable on

* By his Royal Majesty, he means the King of *Portugal*.

† The *Portuguese* Conquests on the [illegible] made them Neighbours.

" account

" account of many Obſtacles and ſeveral
" weighty Reaſons, the want thereof can
" only be ſupplied by Embaſſies, and a mu-
" tual Correſpondence. Since it is certain
" that theſe only can make up the Loſs of
" a perſonal Converſation and Interviews;
" we hope they will be mutually carried on,
" without any Interruption, that the Af-
" fairs and Deſires of each may be mani-
" feſted to the other.

" Your Majeſty knows that the Learned
" and Divines of all Nations and Times, in
" their Opinions concerning the World of
" Appearance and the Intellectual, agree in
" this, that the Former ought to be of no
" Conſideration in Reſpect to the Latter;
" yet the wiſe Men of the Times, and the
" great ones of all Nations, toil much in
" perfecting themſelves, as to this periſh-
" ing and ſhowy State, and conſume the
" beſt of their Lives, and the choiceſt of
" their Time, in procuring apparent De-
" lights, being ſwallowed up and diſſolved
" in fleeting Pleaſures and tranſitory Joys.
" The moſt High God, merely thro' his
" eternal Favour and perpetual Grace, not-
" withſtanding ſo many Obſtacles, and ſuch

" a World of Business and Employment, " has disposed my Heart so as always to " seek him; And tho' he has subjected the " Dominions of so many powerful Princes " to me, which to the best of my Judg- " ment I endeavour to manage and govern " so, as that all my Subjects are contented " and happy; yet Praise be to God, his " Will and my Duty to him, is the End I " propose in all my Actions and Desires. " And as most People being enchained by " the Bonds of Constraint and Fashion, " and regarding the Customs of their An- " cestors, Relations and Acquaintances, with- " out examining the Arguments or Reasons " for it, give an implicit Faith to that Re- " ligion, in which they have been bred up, " and remain deprived of the Excellency of " Truth, the finding of which is the pro- " per End of Reason; therefore at Times " I converse with the Learned of all Reli- " gions, * and Profit by the Discourses of

* *Abdallah Khan*, Prince of *Tartary*, in his Letters to *Akbar* (of which I have got Copies) calls him to a severe Account, for being so fond of the *Brahmins* or *Indian* Priests, and so indifferent as to the *Mahommedan* Religion.

" each. As the Vail of a Language inter-
" poses betwixt us, it would be expedient
" you would oblige me with such a Per-
" son as could distinctly relate and explain
" the above Affair. It has also reached my
" fortunate Ears, that the Heavenly * Books,
" such as the *Pentateuch*, *Psalms*, and *Gos-*
" *pels*, are put into *Arabic* and *Persic:* Should
" a Translation of these, or any other Books,
" which might be of general Benefit, be
" procurable in your Country, let them be
" sent. For a further Confirmation of our
" Friendship, and securing the Foundation
" of Affection and Unity, I have sent my
" trusty Friend the Learned and Honour-
" able *Seyd Mazuffer*, † whom I have par-

* The *Mahommedans* call the Scriptures كتب سماوى *Coteb Sumavi*, or the Heavenly Books, and reckon their *Koran* one of them. They have a great Regard for them all; but say, we have quite altered and corrupted those in our Possession, especially the Gospels.

† I am not certain if this Letter, and the Embassador went any further than *Goa*; but it is well known, that upon this Occasion, one *Geronimo Xavier*, a Jesuit, was directed to learn the *Persian* Language, and sent to the *Moghol's* Court. This Letter I translated from the IIt Tome of *Abul Fazl's* Collection of Letters.

" ticularly favoured and distinguished; he'll " communicate several Things personally " to you, in which confide. Always keep " open the Doors of Correspondence and " Embassy, and Peace to him who follows " the Guide.

" *Written in the Month* * *Ribbi al-* " *avul*, 990.

Akbar died at *Agra* on *Tuesday*, 13 October 1605, aged Sixty-three Solar Years and one Day; having reigned Forty-nine Solar Years, eight Months, and one Day. His Body was interr'd in the Burying-place of *Secandra*, near that City.

He had three Sons,

Sultan Selim; † afterwards *Jehanguîr*.

Sultan Morad, ‡ who died by excessive Drinking in the Year 1598, in *Deccan*.

* *April*, 1582.

† سليم *Selim*, which is a proper Name for Men, signifies, *peaceful*, *safe*, *secure*; and سليمه *Selima* is a proper Name for Women, of the same Signification.

‡ مراد *Morad* signifies *wished for*, *desired*; being derived from اراده *Eradih*, *the Will*.

Sultan

Sultan Daniel, who died by the like Debauch in the ſaid Province in the Year 1604.

And three Daughters,

Shahzadah Khanum. *
Shakr Niſſa Begum. †
Aram Banu Begum. ‡

NOUR ‖ O'DÎN MAHOMMED JEHANGUÎR,

Son to *Jilal o'dîn Mahommed Akbar*, was born at *Fattehpour* ** (formerly called *Sikri*)

* شاهزاده خانم *Shahzada Khanum*, the Royal Lady; شاهزاده *Shahzada* ſignifying *royally born*, and خانم *Khanum*, *Lady*.

† شکرنسا *Shakrniſſa*, the ſweeteſt of Women, with the Addition of بیگم *Begum*, which ſignifies, *Princeſs*.

‡ ارام بانو بیگم *Aram Banu Begum*, ſignifies *the calm and peaceful Princeſs*.

‖ نورالدین *Nour o'dîn*, the Light of Religion, and جهانگیر *Jehanguîr*, the Conqueror of the World, which Titles *Sultan Selim* aſſumed, when he became Emperor.

** فتح پور *Fattehpour*, ſignifies *the Place of Victory*.

which is twelve Coſs * diſtant from *Agra*, on the 19th *Auguſt* 1569, and called *Sultan Selim*. On the 21ſt *October* 1605, being then aged about 36 Solar Years, he ſat on the Throne at *Agra*, and took to himſelf the Title and Name of *Nour o'dîn Mahommed Jehanguîr*.

After a Reign of twenty two Solar Years and ſix Days (the laſt eight of which he had been afflicted with an Aſthma) he died at *Chingarhiſti*, being then on his Return from *Caſhmîr to Lahor*, on the 27th of *October* 1627, aged fifty eight Solar Years, one Month, and twenty nine Days. His Body was carried to *Lahor*, and there interr'd.

He was a weak Prince, and too much overruled by the beautiful *Nour Jehan* † (or *Nour Mahl*) which made the laſt ten Years of his Reign

* A Coſs is the Meaſure they commonly go by in *India*, in computing Diſtances; they are of two Sorts. *Jeribi*, or meaſured, which are 4000 Engliſh Yards each; and *Riſmi* or computed, which are from 2000 to 2500 Yards, according to the different Provinces. Thoſe mentioned here, are the meaſured Coſs.

* نور جهان *Nour Jehan*, ſignifies, the Light of the World. She was alſo called نور محل *Nour Mahl*, or the Light of the Seraglio. She was Wife to one *Shêr Afkan Khan*, of a *Turkoman* Family, who came from *Perſia*

Reign very uneasy to him, and unfortunate to the Empire. The *Omras*, who knew her Original, were resolved to oppose all her Schemes; but she persuaded the Emperor to break thro' all Rules; in Order to advance her Father, Brother, and other Relations to the highest Employments.

After his Death she endeavoured to secure the Empire for *Shehriar*, who was *Jehanguîr*'s Son by a Slave, and married to her Daughter by her First Husband *Sher Afkan Khan**. But *Asof Khan* and *Kradet Khan*, as *Sultan Khourm* (who was Son-in-law to the former) was far off, and that the three

Persia to *Hindostan* in very indifferent Circumstances. As she was exquisitely beautiful, of great Wit, and an elegant Poetess, *Jehanguîr* was resolved to take her to himself. He sent her Husband, who was esteemed the bravest Man in the Service, with some Troops to command a Place in *Bengal*, and afterwards sent another with a greater Force to cut him off. When he was killed, *Nour Jehan* was soon prevailed upon to be an Empress. The Coins struck in *Jehanguîr*'s Reign, with the Signs of the *Zodiack*, were not, as is generally thought in *Europe*, done by his Empress's Order, nor did she reign one Day, as the common Opinion is; but she ruled the Person who reigned, for above twelve Years.

* شیر افکن *Sher Afkan* signifies, *the Lyon Overthrower*.

young

young Princes his Sons, *Dara Shekowh*, *Sultan Sujah*, and *Auringzebe*, were in *Nour Jehan*'s Hands, in order to disconcert her Scheme, and protract the Time until he came, immediately proclaimed *Sultan Davr Bukhsh* (alias *Bolaki*) Son to *Khosro*, Emperor.

Jehangir had Three Sons and Two Daughters by the following Empresses:

By the Daughter of *Rajah Bovandass*,* who poisoned herself in 1601. because the Emperor did not take the same Notice of her Son as he did of *Sultan Khourm*,

Sultana Nissa Begum, † born in 1586.

Sultan Khosro, ‡ Father to *Sultan Davr Bukhsh* or *Bolaki*, born in 1587. He died in Confinement in the Year 1622.

* *Rajah*, signifies, *Prince*, in the *Indian* Language, *and* Rani, *Princess*.

† سلطانه نسا *Sultana Nissa*, the Queen of Women.

‡ خسرو *Khosro*, is the Name of one of the *Persian* Kings of the *Kaian Dynasty*, who was great and powerful, and has been since generally applied to any great or powerful Prince, and used as a proper Name in some Royal Families.

‖ داور بخش *Davr Bukhsh*, signifies, *God's Gift*.

By

By the Daughter of *Khojah Hossan*, *Sultan Parvéz* *, born in the Year 1589.

By the Daughter of *Rajah Kessoudass Rattor*, *Bahar Banu Begum* †, born in 1590.

By the Daughter of *Rajah Oudi*[illegible] *Sultan Khourm* ‡, born in 1592, who succeeded his Father, and took to himself the Name of *Shah Jehan*.

Jehanguir had also *Sultan Jehandar* ‖ and *Sultan Shehriar* § Twins by a Concubine, born in 1605; which last being *Nour Jehan*'s Son-in-law, she endeavoured to secure the Empire to him: But on *Shah Jehan*'s Accession to the Throne in 1627, he and *Bolaki*, with *Sultan Daniel*'s Three Sons,

2,5

* پرویز *Parvez*, a proper Name with the Ancient *Persians*, it signifies *victorious*. In the *Pehlavi* Language, it signifies *Fish*, and some imagine its added to *Khosro's* Name, because he had a great liking to Fish. Others say, that *Khosro Parvez* signifies *the powerful and victorious King*.

† بهار بانو *Bahar Banu*, the blooming Princess.

‡ سلطان خرم *Sultan Khourm*, the joyful Prince.

‖ جهان دار *Jehandar*, the Possessor of the World.

§ شهریار *Shehriar*, the Friend of the City.

Gurstasp

Gurstasp *, *Teyomars*, and *Hoishung* were put to Death.

SHAHAB O'DIN MAHOMMED SHAHJEHAN ||

Third Son to *Nour o'din Mahommed*, *Jehangeir* was born on *Wednesday*, the 5th *January*, 1592, and sat on the Throne in *Agra*, the 1st *February*, 1628, being then Thirty six Solar Years and Twenty-eight Days Old. On the 29th March, 1647, being the 20th Year of his Reign, he removed the Seat of his Empire from *Agra* † to *Dehli*, calling it *Shahjehanabad*; where on the Banks of the River *Chun* he built a noble Castle and Palace, with Gardens and other Conveniencies,

* *Gurstasp*, *Teyomars*, and *Hoishung*, are ancient *Persic* proper Names of Men.

|| شهاب الدين *Shahab o'din*, the bright Star of Religion, and شاه جهان *Shah Jehan*, the King of the World, were the Titles *Sultan Khourm* assumed on his Accession to the Throne.

† اگره *Agra*, is often called اکبر آباد *Akbarabad* or *Akbar's* Habitation, he having kept his Court there, as دهلي *Dehli*, is called شاه جهان آباد *Shah Jehan abad*, or *Shah Jehan's* Habitation.

which

which cost above fifty Lacks ‡ of Rupees. After a successful, and, till then, happy Reign of Thirty Solar Years, Four Months and Eighteen Days, he was first confined by his eldest Son *Sultan Dara Shekow*, and at last deposed by his Third Son *Sultan Auringzebe*, and confined in the Castle of *Agra*, where he died on *Sunday* the 21st of *January*, 1666, aged Seventy-four Solar Years and sixteen Days; being, all the Time of his Confinement, attended by his beloved* Daughter *Jehan Ara Begum*. His Body was interred at *Agra*, in the magnificent Monument he caused to be erected for his Empress *Mehd Alia*, † and which had cost Sixty

‡ A Lack of Rupees is 12,500 *L.* and 50 Lacks is 625,000 *L.* A Rupee is the Silver Coin struck in the *Moghol's* Mints, with an Inscription of his Name and Titles, the Year of his Reign, and the Place it was struck at. It weighs from 7 *dw.* 10½ *gr.* to 7 *dw.* 11 *gr.* and has from 1 to 2 Parts in 100 Allay. 100,000 is one Lack, 100 Lacks are one Crore, and 100 Crores are one Arrib.

* Some People suspected he had a criminal Conversation with his own Daughter, long before his Confinement.

† مهدعليا *Mehd Alia* was also called تاج محل *Taage Mahl*, or *the Crown of the Seraglio.*

Lacks ‡ of Rupees. The Empire flourished exceedingly in his Time, comprehending no less than Twenty-three Provinces, the Names and Yearly Revenues of each as follows:

			L.
Dehli	100	Krores of Dams* are	3,125000
Agra	90	- -	2,812500
Lahor	90	- -	2,812500
Ajmîr	60	- -	1,875000
Dowlatabad	55	- -	1,718750
Berar	55	-	1,718750
Guzerat	53	- -	1,656250
Bengal	50	- -	1,562500
Alehabad	40	- -	1,250000
Bahar	40	- -	1,250000
Malva	40	-	1,250000
Khandeish	40	- -	1,250000
Audih	30	- -	937500
Multan	28	- -	875000
	771		24,093750

‡ 60 Lacks of Rupees are 750,000 *L.*

* A Dam, which is the fortieth Part of a Rupee, and only imaginary, is what the Land Revenues are computed by. A Rupee is 2 *s.* 6 *d. Sterling.*

Odissea

Carried over	771		24,093750
Odissea	20	- -	625000
Cabul	15	- -	468750
Cashmir	15	- -	468750
Tatta	8	- -	250000
Balkh	8	-	250000
Kandahar	7	- -	218750
Biddukhshan	4	- -	125000
Tillingana	30	-	937500
Buglana	2	- -	62500
	880	- -	*l.* 27,500,000

The Five last Provinces were added to the Empire by him.

The Number of his Forces, as they were paid out of the Revenues in 1647, amounted to 911,400, Horse and Foot.

He had several Children, as follows:

By the Empress *Mehd Alia*, Daughter of *Asof Khan*, whose First Name was *Arjumund Banu Begum*,* Seven Sons and Four Daughters.

* ارجمند بانو *Arjumund Banu, the noble Princess.*

Hur al Nissa Begum, a	born in	1612
Jehan Ara Begum b	——	1614
Sultan Dara Shekowh c	——	1615
Sultan Sujah d	——	1616
Roishnrai Begum e	——	1617
Sultan Auringzebe f	——	1618
**Sultan Amead Bukhsh* g	——	1620
**Suria Banu Begum* h	——	1622
Sultan Morad Bukhsh i	——	1624
**Sultan Loutf Allah* k	——	1627
**Sultan Dowlat Afza* l	——	1628

Those mark'd with an Asterism died before their Father was deposed.

a حور النسا *Hur al nissa*, the most angelick of Women.

b جهان ارا *Jehan ara*, the Ornament of the World.

c دارا شكوه *Dara Shekowh*, in Pomp like *Darius*.

d سجاع *Sujah*, Valiant, continued with Fortitude.

e روشن راي *Roishnrai*, of an enlightned Mind.

f اورنك زيب *Auring-zebe*, the Ornament of the Throne.

g اميد بخش *Amead Bukhsh*, the Giver of Hope.

h ثريا بانو *Suria Banu*, the shining Princess. *Suria* literally signifies the *Pleiads*.

i مراد بخش *Morad Bukhsh*, the Giver of Desires or Wishes.

k لطف الله *Loutf Allah*, the Favour of God.

l دولت افزا *Dowlat Afza*, Increase of Fortune.

By a Daughter of *Mazuffer Hossein Mirza*, Grandson to *Shah Ismael*, King of *Persia*, One Daughter,

Parhez Banu Begum * born in 1611.

MOHY ‡ O'DÎN MAHOMMED AURINZEBE, Third Son to *Shah Jehan*, was born the 22d of *October*, 1618. In the latter End of 1656, *Sultan Dara Shekowh*, endeavouring to possess himself of the Empire, confined his Father *Shah Jehan*, which *Auringzebe* having Notice of, begun to make Preparations; and giving out that it was with a Design of securing the Throne to his Brother *Morad Bubhsh*, then at *Ahmedabad*, † he wrote to him to set out with his Forces and join him at *Eugene*, ‖ which is the Capital of the Province of *Malva*.

* پرهيز بانو *Parhez banu*, signifies *the abstinent Princess*.

‡ When *Auring-zebe* became Emperor, he assumed the Title of محي الدين *Mohy o' dîn*, the Reviver of Religion; and عالم كير *Alumguîr*, the Conqueror of the World.

† احمد اباد *Ahmedabaa*, the Capital of the Province of *Guzerat*, so called from *Sultan Ahmed*, who was King of that Province, and kept his Court in that City. It is 244 measured Coss distant from *Debli*.

‖ اوجين *Eugene* is 126 measured Coss from *Agra*.

On

On the 4th of *February*, 1658, he marched from *Auringabad** in *Deccan*, with 25000 Horse, his Son *Sultan Mahommed*, having set out before him, the 24th of *January* the preceeding Month. Both the Brothers join'd at *Eugeni*, near which Place they encounter'd and defeated the *Maharajah*† *Jessvint Sung*, and *Kassum Khan*, who were sent by *Dara Shekowh* to oppose them. After which they marched towards *Dehli*, and in the Fields of *Kajouh*, near *Agra*, gave a total Overthrow to the Army of *Sultan Dara Shekowh*, who fled towards *Lahor*; upon which *Auring-zebe* enter'd the Castle of *Agra*, and on the 20th of *July*, 1658, he sat on the Throne, and was proclaim'd Emperor

* اورنك اباد *Auringabad*, the Capital of the Province of *Dowlat Abad*, which is 265 measured Coss distant from *Dehli*. *Auring-zebe* had it so called after his own Name.

† *Maharajah* signifies *the great Prince*; *Maha* being *great* or *mighty* in the *Sanskerrit* or *Bramin's* Language. This Title is given by the *Moghol* to the *Rajahs* of *Marwar* of the *Rattor* Family. The Capital of their Country is *Juhdpore*, which is 176 Coss distant from *Dehli*. The *Rajpouts* of *Marwar* are esteemed the best Soldiers in *India*.

in the Town of *Eazabad*,* having first confined his Brother *Morad Bukhsh*, notwithstanding he had swore by the *Koran* to be true to him.

Having taken Possession of *Dehli*, he sent his Father from thence to be confined at *Agra*; † and on *Sunday* the 2d of *January*, 1659, he set out for *Bengal*, where, at a Place called *Kuvra*, he defeated his Brother *Sultan Sujah*, and obliged him to fly.

On the 15th of *May*, 1659, being then aged Forty Solar Years, Six Months, and 23 Days, he sat on the Throne, and was proclaimed a Second Time, and ordered that for the future, the Beginning of his Reign should be dated from the first *Ramazan*, in the Year 1069 of the *Hegira*, or the 12th of *May*, 1659.

Sultan Dara Shekowh being taken Prisoner, was brought in Triumph to *Dehli*, and sent to *Khesrabad*, ‡ where he was murder'd by *Aurengzebe*'s Order, the Night of the 28th of *August* 1659.

* *Eazabad* is 21 measured Coss distant from *Dehli*.

† *Agra* is 114 measured Coss distant from *Dehli*.

‡ خضراباد *Khesrabad* is 52 measured Coss from *Dehli*.

The

The 14th of *January*, 1661, he sent his own Son *Sultan Mahommed*, and *Suliman* Shekowh*, Son to *Dara Shekowh*, to be confined in the Castle of *Gualiar*.†

In 1665, going against the *Rajpouts*‡ his Son *Sultan Mahommed Akbar* revolted from him, and joined them. *Auringzebe* pursued him to *Deccan*, from whence he found Means to get by Sea to *Persia*.

During his Reign, which was about 50 Lunar Years, he was constantly in the Field. He conquered *Vijapore*,‖ from *Secander* and *Hyderabad*,§ from *Sultan Abul Hossan*, besides several other Territories and strong Holds in *Deccan*; having twice taken the

* سليمان شكوه *Suliman Shekowh* signifies, *august as Solomon*.

† كوالير *Gualier* is 28 Cos from *Agra*.

‡ The *Rajpouts* are the most warlike of the *Indians*. There are several Tribes of them, all Subjects to those *Rajahs* or *Indian* Princes, who are in a manner independent of the *Moghol*.

‖ *Vijapore*, or *Bijapore*, as pronounced by the *Moghols*, is 357 measured Cos from *Dehli*.

§ *Hyderabad*, which was formerly called *Bhagnagar*, is 371 Miles distant from *Dehli*. There is a Castle in this Province, called *Golconda*, by which Name the whole Province is chiefly known in *Europe*.

famous

famous *Sewa Rajah*,* who as often found Means to make his Escape.

The Revenues of the Empire were greatly increased in his Time, for excluding *Balkh*, *Randahar*, and *Biddukhshan*, which *Shah Jehan* possess'd, and were afterwards lost, there was a Revenue of 12071876840 Dams, which (at 320 Dams to a Pound Sterling is 37,724,615 *l.* ½) from the Twenty-one following Provinces:

* The present *Sahou Rajah*, who keeps his Court at *Settara* in *Deccan*, is a Descendant of this *Sewa Rajah*. He is Prince of the *Maharattas*, or *Ganiis*, who have of late Years acquired a surprizing Power making great Inroads into the *Moghol's* Territories, and levying a Tribute from several Provinces. They have lately taken the Island of *Salset*, the Castle and Town of *Baçaim*, with other Places, from the *Portugueze*. They have above 200,000 Horse in the Northern, Southern, and Inland Provinces.

The Nineteen old Soubahs § or Provinces.

Names.	Capital.	Revenue in Dams.
Dehli	*Dehli*	122[illegible]950137
Agra	*Agra*	1[illegible]40700157
Ajmîr	*Ajmîr*	652345362
Alehabad	*Alehabad*	456543248
Panjab	*Lahor*	826132107
Audih	*Audih*	322327829
Multan	*Multan*	214442036
Cabul	*Cabul*	161039354
Cashmîr	*Srinagr*	229[illegible]11397
Guzerat	*Ahmedabad*	507[illegible]49135
Bahar	*Patna*	407[illegible]1000
Scind	*Tatta*	918[illegible]810
Dowlatabad	*Auringabad*	1034945100
Malva	*Eugen*	403901658
Berar		614025000
Khandeish	*Brampore*	448630000
Bedr	*Zafferabad*	372974370
Bengall	*Dacca*	[illegible]24636240
Odissea		1428[illegible]000
		988021184[illegible]

§ سوبه *Soubah* signifies *a Province*, and سوبه دار *Soubah dar*, the *Lord Lieutenant of a Province.*

The

Carried over 9880211840

The Two New Soubahs,

Hyderabad	*Hyderabad*	1113360000
Vijapore	*Vijapore*	1078305000
		12074876840

At 320 Dams *per l.* are 37,724,615 *l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

On *Friday*, the 21st of *February*, 1707, *Auringzebe* died at *Ahmednagur*,* in the Province of *Dowlatabad*, aged Ninety Lunar Years and 1[illegible] Days, ha[illegible] reign'd about Fifty Lunar Years. He was buried there in the Place of *Shah Zen al dîn.*†

* *Ahmednagur* is distant from *Dehli* 280 measured Coss.

† شاه زين الدين *Shah Zen al dîn. Zen al dîn* signifies *the Ornament of Religion*; and *Shah*, which signifies *King*, is a Title frequently given to *Derveishes.* This *Zen al dîn* was a remarkable *Santon*, who kept his Cell near that City, and was buried there; which being reckoned a sanctified Place, *Auring-zebe*, in his Will, desired he should be interred there. As this Prince was very zealous, or at least pretended to be so, for *Mahommedanism*, those of that Religion make a great Merit of visiting his Tomb, especially on the 28th of the Month *Zeecadih*, which was the Day he died on.

At the Time of his Death, his Third Son *Azem Shah* was with him, and his Second Son *Mahommed Mauzm*, at *Cabul*.* He had left a short Will; of which, for the Satisfaction of the Curious, I shall here give a Translation.

A Translation of Auringzebe's *last Will.*

"I came empty-handed into the World, "and empty-handed I quit it. Whoever of my fortunate Children shall "chance to rule the Empire, let him not "molest *Mahommed Kambukhsh*,† should he "rest contented with the Two New Soubahs‡.

"There cannot be a better Vizir than *Emîr* "*al Omra*.‖

"Let all the King's Servants be true and "faithful to *Mahommed Azem Shah*.

* *Cabul* is 266 measured Coss from *Delhi*.

† *Mahommed Kambukhsh*, *Auring-zebe's* fifth Son.

‡ The two new *Soubahs* are *Vijapore* and *Hyderabad*, so called, as being lately conquered by *Auring-zebe*.

‖ امير الامرا *Emîr al Omra*, which signifies *the Prince of Princes*, is the Title generally given to the *Mir Bukhshi*, or Paymaster-General and Treasurer.

"Whoever

"Whoever shall chance to have the "Empire, let him not turn out or molest "those born or bred up in my House.

"If the Division I formerly made proves "agreeable to my Children, it will prevent "a great deal of Confusion and Bloodshed.

"There are two imperial Seats, *Agra* and "*Delhi*; whoever settles in *Agra* may "have the Province thereof, *Deccan*, *Malva* "and *Guzerat*.

"And who resides at *Dehli* may have "*Cabul* and the other Provinces.

"I came naked into the World, and naked "I go out of it. Let no Ensigns or Royal "Pomp accompany my Funeral; let *Hamid o'din Khan*, who is faithful and trusty, "convey my Corps to the Place of *Shah* "*Zen al din*, and make a Tomb for it, in "the same Manner as is done for *Derveishes*:* "let not my fortunate Children give themselves any Concern about a Monument.

"There is in my private Treasury 57382 "Rupees,† let a 1000 Rupees § be distributed among the Poor at my Funeral.

* The Tombs for *Derveishes* are made low and plain without any manner of Ornament.

† 7172 *l.* 15 *s* § 125 *l.*

Auringziebe

Auringzebe had Five Sons:

Sultan Mahommed,

Mahommed Mauzm, [a] who succeeded his Father in the Empire,

Mahommed Azem, [b]

Mahommed Akbar, [c]

Mahommed Kambukhsh. [d]

Dara Shekowh had Two Sons:

Suliman Shekowh, [e]

Sepeh Shekowh. [f]

Sultan Sujah had Two Sons:

Zen al din Mahommed, [g]

Bullind Akhter. [h]

Morad Bukhsh had one Son:

Iesd Bukhsh. [i]

[a] معظم *Mauzm* signifies *great, glorious.*

[b] عظم *Azem* signifies the same,

[c] اكبر *Akbar,* is the Comparative Mood of كبير *Kobir, great.*

[d] *Kambukhsh,* the Giver of Desires or Wishes.

[e] سليمان شكوه *Suliman Shekowh,* August or in Pomp like *Solomon.*

[f] سپه شكوه *Sepeh Shekowh,* of military Pomp.

[g] زين الدين *Zen al din,* the Ornament of Religion.

[h] بلند اختر *Bullind Akhter,* of high Stars, or great Fortune.

[i] يزد بخش *Iesd Bukhsh,* God's Gift.

KOTEB

Koteb * o'dîn Bahadr Shah,

Upon *Auringzebe*'s Death, *Azem Shah*, with his Father's Troops, set out from *Deccan* towards the Capital, as did also *Mahommed Mauzm* from *Cabul*, in order to decide their Fortunes in Battle. On the Banks of the River *Chun*, near *Agra*, both Armies encountered. They were by far the most numerous that for several Ages had come together in *India*. *Mahommed Mauzm* having 150,000 Horse and 178,000 Foot, exclusive of the Auxiliaries furnished by the *Rajahs*; and the other Brother nigh as many. In short, *Azem Shah*'s Forces were defeated, and himself killed. *Mahommed Mauzm* was proclaimed Emperor, taking to himself the Title of *Koteb o'dîn Bahadr Shah*, and *Shah Alum*. He made *Mahommed Khan* his

* *Sultan Mahommed Mauzm*, on his Accession to the Throne, assumed the Titles of قطب الدين *Koteb al dîn*, the Axis of Religion, بهادر شاه *Bahadr Shah*, the valiant King, and شاه عالم *Shah Alum*, the King of the World. Notwithstanding قطب *Koteb* signifies only the Pole or Extreme Part of the Axis, yet it is used here to signify the Whole.

Vizir;

Vizir; *Zulfecar Khan*, his *Mir Bukhshi*, or Paymaster-General; *Daud Khan*, *Soubahdar*, or Lord-Lieutenant of the Provinces of *Deccan*; and *Assed Khan* Absolute Agent, whom leaving to take Care of the Capital, he went himself against his Brother *Kambukhsh*, who had left *Vijapore*, and settled at *Hyderabad*; where, after some little Resistance, he was taken Prisoner, and died that same Night of of his Wounds.

Bahadr Shah went afterwards to *Lahor* to suppress some religious Riots, and died shortly after, having reign'd about Six Years.

He had Four Sons,

Mauz o'din,[a] called also *Jehandar Shah*.[b]
Mahommed Azîm,[c] *Azîm Al Shan*.[d]
Raffeeih al Kaddr,[e] *Raffeeih al Shan*.[f]
Khojista Akhter,[g] *Jehan Shah*.[h]

[a] معز الدين *Mauz o'din*, signifies *the Honour or Glory of Religion*.

[b] جهاندار شاه *Jehandar Shah*, the King who possesses the World.

[c] عظيم *Azîm*, signifies *great*.

[d] عظيم الشان *Azîm al Shan*, of great Figure or Rank.

[e] رفيع القدر *Raffeeih al Kadr*, of exalted Power.

[f] رفيع الشان *Raffeeih al Shan*, of exalted Rank.

[g] خجسته اختر *Khojista Akhter*, of happy Stars.

[h] جهان شاه *Jehan Shah*, King of the World.

His

His Brother *Sultan Mahommed Azem* had Two Sons,

Mahommed Bedâr Bukht,[a]

Mahommed Wallah Jah,[b]

His Brother *Sultan Mahommed Kambukſh* had One Son.

Ieſdan Bukhſh,[c] called alſo *Rahman Bukhſh*[d], whoſe Daughter has been lately married to *Neſr allah Mirza*,[e] *Nadir Shah*'s Son.

JEHANDAR SHAH.

Jehandar Shah, *Jehan Shah*, and *Raffeeih al Shan*, Sons to *Bahadr Shah*, having joined againſt their Brother *Azîm al Shan*, defeated and killed him. His Treaſure falling into the Hands of *Zulfecar Khan*, who was in *Jehandar Shah*'s Intereſt, they marched againſt the other two Brothers, *Jehan Shah* and *Raffeeih al Shan*, and having overcome them, put them to Death. Their Deaths

a بیدار بخت *Bedâr Bukht*, whoſe Fortune is awake.

b والا جاه *Wallah Jah*, of auguſt Rank.

c یزدان بخش *Ieſdan Bukhſh*, God's Gift.

d رحمن بخش *Rahman Bukhſh*, the Gift of the Merciful.

e نصر الله *Neſr Allah*, ſignifies, *aſſiſted by God.*

secured the Empire to *Jehandar Shah*, and *Zulfecar Khan* became his Vizir.

He was a weak Prince, and so foolishly fond of one of his Wives, called *Lal Koar*, who was of an obscure mean Parentage, and a Singer by Profession, that he endeavoured to fill the Places of the greatest Trust and Honour in the Empire with her base Relations, which so disgusted *Seyd Abdallah Khan* and *Seyd Hossein Khan*, two Brothers of great Authority in the Empire, and who had a Body of choice Troops, that they resolved to place *Mahommed Furrukhsîr* (Son to *Azim al Shan*, then at *Bengal*) on the Throne. This Prince, notwithstanding he had but little Treasure, got Numbers to join him. At first he defeated *Eaz o'dîn*,* *Jehandar Shah*'s Son; and afterwards *Jehandar Shah* himself (thro' his People's Treachery and Cowardice) was defeated near *Agra*, and obliged to fly, tho' he had near 100,000 Horse and Foot.†

Jehandar Shah had one Son: *Eaz o' dîn*.
Azim al Shan had one Son:
Mahommed Furrukhsîr.‖

* عز الدين *Eaz o' dîn*, signifies *the Glory of Religion*.
† فرخ سير *Furrukhsîr*, signifies *of happy Disposition*.

Rafeeih

Raffeeih al Shan had Three Sons:

Raffeeih al Dirjat, *

Raffeeih al Dowlat, † and

Sultan Ibrahim.

Jehan Shah had One Son:

Mahommed Shah, who is the present Emperor.

MAHOMMED FURRUKHSÎR.

Son to *Azîm al Shan*, being settled on the Throne, *Seyd Abdallah Khan* was made *Vizir*, with the Title of *Koteb al Muluck* ‡ and *Iar ba Vafa*. And *Hossan Ali Khan* made *Mîr Bukhshi* or Paymaster-General, with the Title of *Emir al Omra*. ||

The Emperor was only so by Name; for these two had the absolute Management of every Thing. *Furrukhsîr*, at last, with the Advice, and at the Instigation of *Khandoran* and *Mîr Jumla*, began to contrive Means to

* رفيع الدرجات *Raffeeih al Dirjat*, of exalted Degree.

† رفيع الدولت *Raffeeih al Dowlat*, of exalted Fortune.

‡ قطب الملك *Koteb al Muluck*, the Axis of the Empire, and ياريا وفا *Iar ba vafa*, the grateful Friend.

|| امير الامرا *Emîr al Omra*, the Prince of Princes.

cut off the two Brothers. They, on the other Hand, were intent on nothing so much as enriching themselves. They turned out *Nizam al Muluck** (*Ghazi o' dîn Khan*'s† Son) from his Government of *Deccan*, and *Hossan Ali Khan* went thither himself. At last, the two Brothers finding the Emperor grew jealous of their Power, resolved to remove him, and put a more passive Prince in his Stead. Having got *Ajeet Sing* the *Raja Rajah* (whose Daughter § was married

* نظام الملك *Nizam al Muluck*, is a Title signifying *he who arranges and puts in Order the Empire.* His first Name was جين قليج خان *Chîn Kuleejh Khan*, which in the *Tartar* Language, signifies, *the Sword-drawing Lord.* Some People, by Corruption, pronounce it *Chucklas Caun.*

† غازي الدين *Ghazi o' dîn*, signifies *the Champion of Religion.* *Nizam* has also a Son called by the Grandfather's Name *Ghazi o' dîn Khan*, who has lately got the Title of ناصر جنك *Nasr Jing*, which signifies *victorious in War.*

§ It is a Custom with the *Moghol* Emperors to make Alliances with the *Indian Rajahs* or Princes, by marrying their Daughters, who, as soon as they are taken into the *Harram* or *Seraglio*, are converted to *Mahommedanism*, by pronouncing in *Arabic* these Words, *There is but One* God, *and* Mahommed *his Prophet*, and learning a few Prayers.

to

to *Furrukhsir*) to join them, they confined him: Shortly after, they blinded him, by drawing a Red hot Wire over his Eyes: And on the 16th of *February*, 1719, offering him a Thousand Indignities and Insults, put him to Death, after a Reign of Seven Years.

'Twas in this Emperor's Reign that the *English East-India* Company obtained a *Firmân* * exempting them from paying any Duties in his Dominions; which I have here subjoined a Translation.

ALL GOVERNORS, People in Offices, *Jâguîrdars*, † *Fojhdars*, ‡ *Croris*, ||

* فرمان *Firmân*, signifies literally an *Order*, but it is used for a Patent or Grant from the Emperor.

† When one is preferred to be a منصبدار *Mansubdar*, or Commissioned Officer, by the *Moghol*, he either pays him out of the Treasury, or else allots him as much Lands in some of the Provinces, as the Salary and Wages of his منصب *Mansub*, or Post, comes to. The Lands so alloted are called the جاگير *Jaguîr*, and the Officer who receives the Revenues as his Pay, is called the *Jaguîrdar*.

‡ *Fojhdars* are Officers who have the Command of a Body of Horse, and take Care of the Suburbs of a City, and the Out-parts.

|| *Croris* are those Officers who collect the Revenues of the several Villages, and often farm them of the Lord Lieutenant of the Province, or of the *Jaguîrdar*.

Rahadars,

Rahadars,* *Gouzirbans*,† and *Zemidars*,‡ who are at present and shall be hereafter in the *Soubah* ‖ of *Ahmedabad*, and in the fortunate Port of *Surat*, and *Cambay*, being in hopes of the Royal Favour. KNOW, That at this Time of Conquest which carrys the Ensign of Victory, Mr *John Surman* and *Khojah Serhad*,§ Factors to the *English*, have represented, by the Means of those who stand on the Steps of the high Throne, "That Customs on *English* "Goods all over the Empire are pardoned, "except at the Port of *Surat*; and that at "the said Port, from the Time of the

* *Rahadars* are those who have the Charge of the High-ways.

† *Gouzirbans* are they who collect Duties on the High-roads.

‡ [illegible] *Zemidars*, are the *Ra*[illegible]*inces*, &c. who have free Estates, and a Tract of Land at their own Command, only paying a small Acknowledgement to the Great *Moghol*. This Name is composed of زمین *Zemin*, *Land*, and دار *Dar*, *a Possessor*.

‖ *Soubah* signifies *a Province*.

§ Mr. *John Surman*, an *English* Gentleman, and *Khojah Serhad*, an *Armenian*, were the principal Persons sent from *Bengal* to the *Moghol*'s Court, to sollicit for this Grant.

"Emperor

" Emperor who is pardoned ‡, whose Place
" of Rest is Eternal, *Shahab o' dîn Shah*
" *Jehan*, 2 *per Cent* was settled as Customs.
" From the Time of him who has approach-
" ed the Most Merciful, whose Place is
" everlasting, *Mohy o' dîn Mahommed Au-*
" *ringzebe Alumguîr*, $3\frac{1}{2}$ *per Cent.* was ap-
" pointed, and in other Places none molested
" them on this Account. And in the Time
" of the Emperor who is pardoned, whose
" Place of Repose is Heaven, surrounded
" with the Favour of the Almighty, whose
" Rank is most Sacred, *Abul Mazuffer* *
" *Bahadr Shah*, $2\frac{1}{2}$ *per Cent.* was settled,
" and is in Force until now: By Reason of
" the Oppressions of the *Mutteſiddis*† there, 'tis
" three Years since they have withdrawn
" their Factory. In the *Soubahs* of *Bahar*
" and *Odissea*, this Nation pays no *Customs*;
" [illegible] of *Hugly*, in the Province
" of [illegible], they Yearly give Three || Thou-

‡ This is a softer Kind of Expression used by the *Mahommodans* in mentioning deceased Persons.

* ابو المظفر *Abul Mazuffer*, signifies *the Father of Victory.*

† *Mutteſiddis* are the King's Officers.

|| 375 *l.*

" sand

"sand Rupees *Peishcush* § in Lieu of *Customs*; "they are in hope that, according to the "Custom of other Ports, in the Port of "*Surat* likewise, a Yearly *Peishcush* may be "settled in Lieu of *Customs*; they agree to "a Yearly *Peishcush* of Ten ‖ Thousand "Rupees.

"The ORDER that subjects the World "to obey it, and which must be strictly "followed, is issued forth: That since they "agree to Ten Thousand Rupees *Peishcush* "at the Port of *Surat*, take it Yearly, and "besides that molest them on no Account; "And what Goods or Effects their Factors "bring or carry away by Land or Water, "to and from the Ports of the Provinces, "and other Parts, looking upon them to be "Custom-free, let them buy and sell at "their Pleasure; and if in a Place any of

§ پیشکش *Peishcush*, which literally signifies *presented*, or *drawn before*, is the Term for a Present from an Inferior to a Superior; as are also these Words, نظر *Nazr*, presented to View, گذران *Gouzran*, laid before, &c. And whatever Superiors give to their Inferiors, which is generally Robes, Arms, Horses, Elephants, &c. is called a *Khalaet* and *Sirrapah*; and if Money, an *Enam*.

‖ 1250 l.

"their

their Effects should be stol'n, use your utmost Endeavours to recover them, delivering the Robbers to Punishment, and the Goods to the Owner; and wherever they settle a Factory, or buy and sell Goods, be assisting to them on all just Occasions; and whomsoever of the Merchants, *&c.* they may have a just Demand on, by Accounts; according to Equity, give the *English* their Due, and let no Person injure their Factors. They have likewise humbly represented, "That the "*Duans* * in the Provinces may demand the "Original *Sinnid*, † or a Copy with the "*Nazem* or *Duan*'s ‡ Seal affixed; to pro-"duce the Original in every Place is im-"practicable; they are in hopes that a Copy "under the *Kazzi*'s ‖ Seal shall be credited,

and

Ages of his

* The *Duans* are the Seconds or Deputies to the Lord Lieutenants of Provinces, and Governors of Cities. They are the General Accomptants, and the Revenues go through their Hands.

† سند *Sinnid*, signifies, a *Grant or Patent.*

‡ *Nazem* is the Governor, or Person who acts for him.

‖ قاضي *Kazzi*, or, as some pronounce it, *Cadi*, is the Judge, who, among the *Mahommedans*, decides

all

" and they not demand the original *Sanad*,
" or molest them on Account of a Copy
" with the *Nazem* or *Duan's* Seal: And in
" the Island of *Bombay*, belonging to the
" *English*, where *Portugueze** Coins are Cur-
" rent, that according to the Custom of
" of *Chinapattan*, † the fortunate § Coins

all Causes, he being generally a Person of the greatest Reputation and Learning, a Copy attested by him is thought sufficiently authentick.

* As the Island of *Bombay* (which was made over to the *English* in King *Charles* the Second's Time) belonged first to the *Portugueze*, their Coins passed current there, until the *English East India* Company had the Privilege of coining Rupees.

† *Chinapattan* is *Madrass*, or Fort *St. George*, on the *Cormandel* Coast, where the *English* did coin Rupees.

§ By the Fortunate Coins (which they call سکه مبارک *Sakeb Mobarek*) are meant Silver and Gold Rupees, which last they call مهر *Mehr*, or *Sun*, and ought to weigh 7 *dw.* 10½ *gr.* and are in Value equal to 12 Silver Rupees weighing 7 *dw.* 10½ *gr.* each. The Inscription on this present Emperor's Money is, *The Fortunate Coins of the valiant Emperor* Mahommed Shah, *in the Year* *struck at* *in the* *Year of the glorious Reign.* The first and last Blank are for the Year of the Hegira and Reign, and the Second for the Name of the Place.

may

"may be struck; and that whoever of the "Company's Servants being in Debt, runs "away, may be sent to the Chief of the "Factory; and that on Account of the "*Fojhdari*,* and the other *forbidden Articles* (by which Means the Company's "Factors and Servants are vex'd and discouraged) they be not molested.

'The strict and high ORDER is issued 'forth that a Copy under the *Kaizzi*'s Seal 'be credited, and that in the Islands of '*Bombay*, fortunate Coins, struck according 'to the Custom of the Empire, be current; 'and whoever of the Company's Servants, 'being indebted, runs away, let him be 'taken and delivered to the Chief of the 'Factory, and let them not be molested on

* As the *Fojhdar* is the Person who has the Command of the Suburbs and Out-parts, where it is chiefly that intoxicating Liquors are allowed to be sold, and disorderly Houses kept, he used to take up Sailors, and other *Europeans*, whom he found there, and not release them without a Sum of Money; which created the Chiefs of the Factories, and the Company's Servants, a deal of Trouble. This Article in the *Firmân* is to redress that Grievance, and suffer them to pass Wines, and other Liquors and Necessaries, without any Molestation.

'Account of the *forbidden Articles*.' "They have likewise represented, that in *Bengal*, *Bahar* and *Odissea*, the Company have Factories, and that they are willing to settle in other Places. They are in hopes that wherever they settle, Forty *Kingas* ‖ of Ground may be graciously bestowed on them by the Emperor; and that their Ships sometimes, by Reason of Tempests run ashore, and are wreck'd, the Governors of the Ports do in an oppressive Manner seize the Goods, and in some Places demand a quarter Part." 'The Royal Order is issued forth, that they act according 'to the Customs of the Factories in other 'Provinces, in regard to this Nation (who 'have Factories in the Imperial Ports, and 'Dealings at Court, and have miraculously 'obtained a *Firmân* exempting them from 'Customs.) Take Care in a just Manner of 'the Goods of their Ships that are wreck'd 'or have lost their Passage, and in all Affairs 'act according to this Great Order, and 'demand not a new Grant Yearly. In

‖ A *Vinga* is somewhat less than the third Part of an Acre.

'this

this be punctual, written on the 4th of *Safer* * in the 5th Year of this Glorious Reign.

On the back Part of the *Firman* is the *Vizir*'s Seal, with his Titles, as follows:

The Security of Fortune, and trust-worthy of the Empire,
Chief of the *Omras* of exalted Rank,
Chief among the *Khans* of the High Court,
Manager of the Empire and its Riches,
Director of its Fortune and Grandeur,
Master of the Sword and Pen,
Exalter of the Standard and Ensign,
Vizir of a true Judgment,
Of One Colour, (i. e. *Ingenuous and Sincere*)
Prop of the Empire,
Supreme Manager of its Affairs,
The Victorious General,
The grateful Friend, and
Pattern for all *Vizirs*.

* *January* the 6th, 1716-7.

RAFFEEIH

Raffeeih al Dirjat,

The *Seyds* after having made away with *Furrukhser*, took *Raffeeih al Dirjat*, Son to *Raffeeih al Shan*, out of the Castle of *Selimgur* † where the Royal Family are confined, and placed him on the Throne. He had not reigned above Three Months, before they murdered him, and sending for his Brother

Raffeeih al Dowlat,

Placed him on the Throne, who in a few Days afterwards died a natural Death, and was succeeded by the present Emperor

Nasr o'dîn Mahommed Shah,‖

Son to *Jehan Shah*, who being raised to that Dignity by the *Seyds*, *Hossan Ali Khan* and

† سليم گر *Selimgur*, signifies *Selim's Castle*, being built by a Prince of that Name.

‖ *Mahommed Shah*, on being made Emperor, took to himself the Title of نصر الدين *Nasr o' dîn*, which signifies, *the Supporter and Assister of Religion.*

Abdallah

Abdallah Khan, they kept the Power so much in their own Hands, that he had nothing, except the Name of Emperor, which made him eagerly wish for an Opportunity of making himself independant, and revenging the Death of his Uncle's Son, *Furrukhsir*.

In *October*, 1720, *Mahommed Shah*, accompanied by *Hossan Ali Khan*, and several *Omras**, set out from *Agra* with a numerous Army, in order to reduce *Nizam al Muluck*, who had grown very powerful in *Deccan*.

Having marched Nine measured Cos the First Day, the Emperor called a *Divan* that Night, and after a short Stay withdrew. As soon as he was gone, *Mahommed Amin Khan*, *Heydr Kuli Khan*, § Master of the Ordnance, *Khandoran*, and several others of the *Omras*, who were most attached to the Royal Fa-

* امرا *Omra*, is the Plural of امير *Emir*, which signifies, *Prince*, and is a Title given to all the Nobility of the first Rank, in the *Moghol* Empire, and in *Tartary*.

§ حيدر قلي *Heydr Kuli* signifies, *the Slave of the Lion*, حيدر *Heydr*, which signifies, *a Lion*, being one of the Appellatives given to *Ali Murtisa*, and قلي *Kuli*, in the *Turkish* Language, signifies *a Slave*.

mily,

mity, drawing their Swords, fell on *Hossan Ali Khan*, and killed him with two or three of his Friends. Upon this *Mahommed Shah* laid aside that Expedition, and returned towards *Dehli*, in order to cut off *Seyd Abdallah Khan*, the other Brother, who was in that Capital with a great Force; who hearing of his Brother's Murder, and taken out *Sultan Ibrahim*, Son to *Muzzeddin Shan*, and proclaimed him Emperor. Gathering together what Treasure he could, and having broke to Pieces the famous Throne, (which cost *Shah Jehan* nine Crores § of Rupees) in order to pay his Soldiers, he soon compleated an Army of 50,000 Horse, and marched out to engage *Mahommed Shah*, who had encamp'd at *Serkad*, which is Twelve Coss from *Mhetra*.

On the 2d of *November*, 1720, both Armies engaged; and after an obstinate and bloody Battle, *Abdallah Khan*'s Forces were defeated, and himself desperately wounded and taken Prisoner.

§ One Crore is Ten Millions. So that Nine Crores of Rupees, at 2 *s.* 6 *d.* [illegible] amounts to 11,250000 *l.* *Sterling*.

The

The young *Sultan*, whom he had brought with him to countenance his Rebellion, being taken, he no other Punishment inflicted on him, but being sent back to his old Quarters the Castle of *Selimgur*.

Upon this Victory the Emperor made great Rejoicings, and appointing *Mahomed Khan* Vizir, returned to *Delhi*.

Abdallah Khan being brought before him, the Emperor said to him, 'Traitor, see 'what thou hast done.' To which he answered, 'I took you out of a Prison, and 'gave you an Empire. My Brother being 'murdered by your Order, as I was at the 'Head of an Army, Self-preservation directed me to make use of it; Providence decreed you the Victory, use it as you think proper, by treating this Clay as your Resentment or Interest may prompt you.' Then the Emperor said to him, 'What 'Harm had *Furrukhsir* done to you?' To which he answered: 'He grew jealous of 'mine and my Brother's Power, and as it 'was inconsistent with our Interest to resign 'it into his Hands, we thought it dangerous 'to lose any Time in removing him. Had 'Providence permitted us to have been so

prudent hitherto, we should not have come to this tragical End. But when Fate destines one to Ruin, it begins by blinding the Eyes of his Understanding." Then the King ordered him to be confined, and four Servants allowed to attend him, and said, "As for the young *Sultan* he is not to blame; were he to be punished, it would distress his poor Mother; let him remain with her."

Heydr Kuli Khan was in great Favour, and afterwards made *Soubahdar* * of *Ahmedabad*. *Nousrit Ear Khan* was made *Soubbahdar* of *Ajmir*, *Sir Bulland Khan* was sent for from *Cabul* to be one of the Vizirs; and *Khandoran* was made *Mir Bukhshi* ‡ with the Title of *Emir al Omra* §.

Furrukhsir's Mother desired that *Abdallah Khan*, the Murderer of her Son, might be delivered to her. *Mahommed Shah* sent her Word that it was unlawful to kill two Persons for the Murder of one, and that *Hossan Ali Khan* was killed in Retaliation. He then ordered that *Abdallah Khan* should lodge in

* *Soubahdar* is Lord Lieutenant of a Province.

‡ *Mir Bukshi* is Paymaster General and Treasurer.

§ *Emir al Omra* signifies *the Prince of Princes*.

the Palace of *Asof al Dowlat*, have a Pension of 3000 Rupees Monthly, thirty Horse-Servants, seventy Menial Ones, with Provisions of all Kinds from the Royal Kitchen, five Women to attend him, and proper Guards over him. He did not live long to Guard his generous Allowance, dying a few Days afterwards of his Wounds. Five and Forty Women, most of them his Wives and Concubines, and some his near Relations, burnt ‡ themselves in one Room, the Night after he died.

In

‡ In ancient Times, none but the Wives of the *Bramins* (or *Indian* Priests) had the Privilege of burning themselves with their deceased Husbands: But since the Government fell into the Hands of the *Rajpouts*, 'tis Customary, when any of their Princes die, for one or more of their Wives to be burnt with him. There is no Compulsion to this Sacrifice, as some People wrongly imagine; 'tis entirely of their own accord, and often they are dissuaded from it. Sometimes indeed, when a vain-glorious Passion prevails over natural Affection, the Widow's Relations would gladly have her burn, as it raises the Character of their Family, by making it remarkable for virtuous and loving Women. Yet, according to their Religion, 'tis more meritorious to be-have chastly and decently in their Widowhood, until Death, than burning; because one is but a short Pain, and the other a State of Trial. The *Moghols* have endeavoured

In the Year 1721-2, the Emperor wrote to *Chin al Muluck*, then at *Deccan*, desiring his Presence at Court, and that he would appoint him *Vizir*; but if he declined it, he should nominate whomsoever he should judge to be the most deserving. To which he answer'd: "I am a "*Devish*, and not ambitious of so high "Station. I was contented with the Pro-"vince of *Malva*, when the *Seyds* intending "to distress me, I was obliged to take Arms. "By the Divine Assistance I baffled their "Designs, and secured myself. At last "your Majesty, by their Instigation, set out "against me with a mighty Army. Here "the Almighty protected me likewise. In "the Beginning one of the Brothers was "killed; and as you knew me to be a

deavoured to discourage this Custom as much as possible; but since Money is omnipotent in that Country, as well as in many others, a small Bribe generally purchases the Consent of the Governor, or Commanding Officer. Lately, the *Seyd* and *Pattan* Families, in several Parts of *India*, have, tho' their excessive Pride, got into this Custom; and as it is strictly forbidden by their Religion (which is the *Mahommedan*) they do it privately, by setting an Apartment on fire about their Ears.

"faithf

"faithful Servant, you laid aside that Ex-
"pedition and returned to *Dehli*, whose,
"being settled to the Satisfaction of all
"People, you have now condescended to
"distinguish me, the meanest of your Slaves,
"with this extraordinary Mark of your Fa-
"vour; which I only decline, as knowing
"myself unequal thereto, and that there are
"many about your Court more capable and
"desirous of such an Employment than I."

As *Nizam* would not come to Court, *Mahommed Amîn Khan* was continued *Vizir*, and after his Death, his Son *Kummir o' dîn Khan* * succeeded him in that Office, and enjoys it now.

Nizam continued at *Deccan*, as *Soubadar* of *Vijapore*, *Hyderabad*, *Auringabad*, &c. and tho' he acknowledged himself a Subject, yet made no Remittances to Court, but appropriated the Revenues to the maintaining of an Army, which he said was to keep in aw the *Maharattas* or *Ganims*, the *Sahou Rajah*'s Subjects in *Deccan*; whom notwithstanding he permitted to plunder and lay waste several of the King's Provinces. They

* قمر الدين *Kummir o' dîn*, signifies *the Moon of Religion*.

imposed

imposed a Tribute of one quarter Part of the Revenues, which they call *Chout*; in many Places and some Parts they have taken entirely to themselves. He well knew, that with the *Maharattas* Assistance, he could defy any Attempts could be made against him from Court. At last, in the Year 1738 the *Maharattas* becoming very formidable, and *Nadir Shah* having besieged *Kandahar*||, he was prevailed on to come to Court, as shall appear more particularly in the Sequel.

|| قندهار *Kandahar*, is distant from *Dehli* 358 measured Coss, and from *Isfahan* 463.

The State of Affairs in India before the Persian *Invasion, with the Motives that induced* Nadir Shah *to undertake that Expedition.*

As the * Emperor's Affairs became daily in a worse Situation, and that thro' the Indolence of the *Vizir*, and his being entirely taken up with his Diversions, there was no Prospect of a Remedy, His Majesty resolved to send for *Nizam al Mulk*, who being one of *Auringzebe*'s old *Emirs* †, and of great Experience, his Presence might give a new Turn to Affairs. Accordingly Orders were issued forth for his Appearance; in Compliance with which, leaving his Son *Ghazi o'din Khan* to command in *Deccan*, he came to *Dehli*, where he met with a gracious Reception, was made Absolute Agent, which

* The Great *Mogher*.

† *Emir* signifies a *Prince* or *Commander*, being the Name that the Nobility are distinguished by, the Plural of which is *Omra*.

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is greater than *Vizir*, and honoured with the Title of *Asef Jah*‡. *Khan-i-Dauran*, who is *Bukhshi*, or Paymaster-General, had the Emperor's Ear so much, that whatever he requested was granted, His Majesty being entirely governed in all His Actions by him. As *Nizam al Mulluck* was for settling Affairs upon the same Footing as they were in *Aurengzebe's* Time, and proceeding in Regard to the Administration of Justice, according to Law, and as was done in the Reigns of former Emperors; whatever he requested on that Score was denied him, and all his new Schemes opposed and laugh'd at by the *Omras*. He observing the Weakness of the Emperor, and the Dissoluteness of his Courtiers, who employed their Time in the Company of loose Women and Buffoons, waited on His Majesty, and framing an Excuse, told him the Affairs of his Province required his Presence. On his Arrival at *Deccan* he entered into a Concert with *Rajah Sahou*, and con-

‡ *Asof Jah* is a Title commonly given to *Vizirs*. It signifies, *in Place and Rank as* Asof, who, they say, was *Solomon's Vizir*. At the same Time that they honour their *Vizirs* with this Title, they flatter their own Vanity, by comparing themselves to *Solomon*.

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thived it [illegible] Bajeerao ‖ should march as far as D[illegible] and plunder and lay waste all before him; that, at length, the Emperor, and those about him, might be roused out of their Indolence, and be sensible of their ill Conduct. The *Maharattas* soon overrun the Province of *Malva*, killed *Guerdir Bahadr*, the Governor thereof, and seized all his Treasure and Effects. After having laid waste and destroyed all the Country around, they returned to *Deccan*. As no Notice was taken at Court of these Inroads, next Year they marched towards *Guzerat*, where, notwithstanding the Inhabitants agreed to pay a quarter Part,* they plundered and distressed them in a severe Manner: They also ravaged the Country round about *Gualiar*, which being near the Capital, the Court was alarmed, and *Khandoran*, with *Kummir o'dîn Khan* and other *Omrahs*, sent with a powerful Army to chastise them; but these great Officers thought Peace the safest Measure,

‖ A famous General of the *Maharattas* or *Ganims*, who is lately dead.

* A Quarter Part of the Revenues, which they call *Chot*, is the Tribute the *Maharattas* have endeavoured to impose on several Parts of *India*.

agreed to pay the Quarter Part [illegible] returned Home. Notwithstanding this [illegible] reement, and the Money being paid, the *Maharattas* did not spare those Places from being plundered, but even resolved to march as far as *Agra* to receive the Quarter Part for *Dehli*. The aforesaid Officers set out again, and came to the City of *Agra*: A little before their Arrival, the *Maharattas* had crossed the River *Jumna*, with an Intent to march into *Audih*, the Province governed by *Saadit Khan*, who having Notice of their Design, march'd against them with a strong Body, and after an obstinate Engagement defeated them, took two of their principal Officers, and killed 5000 of their Men. With the Remains of their Army they marched to *Feridabad*, which is Ten Coss from *Dehli*. Upon which *Khandoran* and the *Vizir*, being joined by *Saadit Khan*, went in pursuit of them: The *Maharattas* had left that Place Three Hours before the *Omrahs* Arrival, and marched towards *Kalka*, near *Dehli*; which being a Place of Worship for that Day, the greatest Part of the Inhabitants had assembled there: They robb'd them of all they had, but spared their Lives; and knowing the

City

City had but few Forces therein, they intended to plunder it; of which the Emperor being informed, he ordered *Emir Khan* and *Hossan Khan*, with all the Companies belonging to the Train of Artillery, to go and oppose them. They accordingly marched out, and after an Engagement of a few Hours, *Hossan Khan* was killed, and *Emir Khan* with the rest of his Army, almost routed, and the *Maharattas* on the Point of entering the City, when the *Vizir*, who had outmarched the other two *Omras*, came to his Assistance; the Enemy was soon defeated, and put to Flight: The *Vizir* pursued them to *Allaverdi Khan's Serai*, † which is Seven Coss from *Dehli*, where coming up with them, and having no Inclination to fight, he secretly made up Matters: Upon which they marched back to *Deccan*. *Saadit Khan* being somewhat puffed up with his own good Services, and incensed at this shameful Compremise with the *Ganims*, marched

† *Serai*, or *Sera*, signifies any great Building or Palace. 'Tis the same that, by Corruption, is in *Europe* called *Seraglio*, which may as properly be applied to any other Palace, as to that where the King's Family live. By prefixing the Word *Caravan*, it signifies, *a Building for the Reception of Travellers and Passengers.*

towards his own Province, [illegible] waiting on his Majesty; but the other *Omras* entered the City, and paid their Respects to him.

The Emperor was again inclined to send for *Nizam al Muluck*, thinking that while he continued in *Deccan* he should be always in Fear of (or actually disturbed by) these Excursions of the *Maharattas*. *Mehr Parvir*, his Grandmother, who had great Interest with *Nizam*, at his Request, wrote him a Letter, full of Assurances that he should have the entire Management of Affairs at Court, provided he came without Delay. He complied with her Request; but met with a worse Treatment than formerly. The *Omras* not only disregarded him, but took all Opportunities of affronting him, especially *Khandoran* and his Creatures, who, when he came to pay his Respects at Court, used to ridicule him, saying to each other, *Observe how the* Deccan *Monkey dances*. This Usage having wrought him up to the highest Pitch of Resentment, he was resolved to revenge himself by distressing the Empire, and destroying *Khandoran* and his Creatures. He imparted his Design to the *Vizir*, *Kamar o'din Khan*, imagining he would join with him.

[illegible] withstanding the Alliance between them (*Nizam*'s Son being married to the *Vizir*'s Daughter, and the *Vizir*'s Son to *Nizam*'s Daughter) he could not engage him to join in any Plot detrimental to the public Interest; on the contrary, he used his Endeavours to dissuade him therefrom, by representing to him the Infamy of sacrificing his Country to private Resentment. When *Nizam* perceived he would not come into his Measures, he applied himself to *Saadit Khan*, the *Soubahaur* of *Audih*, who then had a great Body of Men, was an Officer of Experience, and had lately raised his Reputation by his Action with the *Maharattas*; and, what was still more to the Purpose, had, since that Time, stood ill-affected towards the Emperor and *Khandoran*. Having entered into an Agreement, it was resolved that *Nadir Shah*, Ruler of *Persia*, who then was besieging *Kandahar*, should be the Instrument to distress the Emperor, and remove *Khandoran* from amongst them.

But before I relate the treacherous Correspondence between Nizam, Saadit [illegible] Shah, *with the Invitation* [illegible] *they*

they gave him to march towards [illegible], *which was the principal Motive that encouraged him to undertake that Expedition, I shall give a brief Account of the Life and Actions of this Famous Conqueror, who of late has made so much Noise in the World, which I had from a Gentleman who knew him personally, and was in* Persia *during the Time of the Great Revolution which happened there; that is, from the Time the* Afghans *invaded* Persia, *and* Mahmud Khan, *the Son of* Mîr Vaez, *took the Capital thereof* Isfahan, *making* Shah Sultan Hossein *Prisoner, with all his Sons, which were Twenty-three, excepting* Thamas Mirza *(afterwards* Shah Thamas, *who made his Escape during the Siege) until* Nadir Shah *set out for* Kandahar *to reduce to Obedience* Hossein Khan, *a Brother of the said* Mahmud Khan.

THE HISTORY OF NADIR SHAH.

NADIR SHAH ‡, known in *Europe* by the Name of *Kuli Khan*, was born at *Calot* in the Province of *Khorasan*. ‖ His Father was Chief

‡ His first Name was نادر قلي *Nadir Kuli*, which signifies, *God's Slave*, or literally, *the Slave of the Wonderful*. It is composed of نادر *Nadir*, *wonderful*, which, with the *Mahommedans*, is one of God's Attributes, and قلي *Kuli*, which, in the *Turkish* Language, signifies *Slave*. In this Manner the *Arabs*, and other *Mahommedans* compose most of their proper Names, by prefixing the Word عبد *Abd*, *Slave*, to God's Name, or any of his Attributes, thus: عبد الله *Abdallah*, *the Slave of God*, عبد الرحمن *Abd o' Rahman*, *the Slave of the Merciful*, &c.

‖ *Khorasan* is one of the most eastern Provinces of *Persia*, which its Name imports, signifying, *towards the*

Chief of a Clan of the [illegible] and Governor of a Fortres[illegible] that Place, wherein a sufficient Guar[illegible] kept to prevent the *Ousbeg Tartars* from making Incursions into *Khorasan*. It commanded one of the Passes and was so situated by Nature that a Handful of Men might easily defend it against a numerous Army. The Father of *Nadir Kuli* (for that was his first Name) dying during his Minority, his Uncle took the Command of that Fortress, which had been Hereditary in the Family for many Years, under Pretence of keeping it until *Nadir Kuli* was of Age; but when he was grown up, the Uncle pretended he was still too young to take such a Charge; and insinuated to the Clan, he was a Youth of a fierce and tyrannical Disposition, not fit to command them, unless, instead

the Sun; خور *Khor*, signifying, *the Sun*, in the ancient *Persic*. The *Persians* generally pronounce it *Khorasun*, making an ا *a*, before an م *m*, or an ن *n* sound like an و *u*, which, they think, gives the Words a sweeter and softer Sound. But in *Tartary*, and all over the *Moghol*'s Empire, the Words are pronounced as they are wrote.

* The *Affshars* are a *Turcoman* Tribe, divided into two or three Clans.

of

of mild Treatment, they chose to be sway'd with a Rod of Iron. The *Afshars* being well satisfied with the Uncle, desired him to continue their Chief, declaring that as they already had sufficient Experience of his Capacity and Humanity, they would not run any Risque by submitting to his Nephew. *Nadir Kuli* being thus thrust out of his Right by the Cunning of his Uncle, and being too great a Spirit to live in a State of Subserviency among his Relations, went to *Mushad*,* a City famous for the Sepulchre of *Imam Ali Reza*, and there enter'd into the *Beglerbeg*'s† Service, as one of the under Masters of Ceremonies; in which Office he behaved so well, that the Prince soon gave him the Command of a Troop of Horse. In the frequent Skirmishes he had with the *Tartars* he gave such Proofs of his Conduct and Courage, that in a few Years he was made *Minbashi*, or Commander of 1000 Horse,

* *Mushad* is a City in *Khorasan*, which, since *Shah Abas*'s Intention of making it a Place of Pilgrimage, has been of more Note than *Herat*, the ancient Capital thereof.

† *Beglerbeg* is a Title signifying, in the *Turkish* Language, *Lord of Lords*.

in which Station he continued till he was about thirty-two Years of Age, behaving on all Occasions with the greatest Gallantry and Resolution. He was esteemed and respected by those whom he chose to be familiar with; but others who were not so intimate with him, and to whom he behaved with Reserve, made little Account of him. He so well disguised his Ambition, that, altho' determined to push his Fortune to the utmost, when a proper Opportunity should offer, he took the greatest Care to smother whatever might give the least Jealousy or Offence to his Superiors, seeming perfectly happy in the Station he had obtained, until the Year 1720. when the *Ousbeg Tartars*, by Surprize, entered *Khorasan* with a Body of 12000 Horse, and began to commit Hostilities. The *Beglerbeg* not having above 4000 Horse, and 2000 Foot in Readiness to march against them, called a Council of his Officers, and told them if an immediate Stop was not put to the Progress of the *Tartars*, they would lay waste and plunder the whole Province, and, according to their Custom, carry off Man, Woman, and Child, with every Thing of Value they could lay their Hands on;

on; in Consequence of which he must lose his Head. The General Officers declared the Force his Highness could then muster was not near sufficient to encounter the Enemy with any Probability of Success, and that the King would blame him should he attempt it, and thereby only throw away the Lives of so many brave Men. The *Beglerbeg* perceiving their timorous Disposition, declared he would put himself at the Head of what Troops he had, and try his Fortune, it being better to run any Hazard than sit down tamely, and be idle Spectators, while the *Tartars* ravaged the Country, and carried away the Inhabitants to a perpetual Slavery. *Nadir Kuli*, who was present at this Council, (but whose Station did not entitle him to speak until the Opinion of those of the same Rank was asked) got up, and desired that he might be indulged to offer something on this Occasion: Which being granted, he said, It was then no Time to deliberate; that the Enemy were advancing towards them, and in a few Days would force the Generals to do what at present they seem'd to have no Inclination to; that he could not enough commend the brave Reso-

lution of the Prince in offering to go in Person, and give them Battle, tho', at the same Time, there was no Necessity for His Highness to run so great a Risque, since if any Accident happened to him the whole Province would be lost; that it would be more advisable to remain in the City *Mushad* to take Care thereof with what Forces he could gather from the adjacent Parts, and let the Army set out immediately, in order to give the Enemy Battle, or to secure some Defiles and narrow Passes to prevent the *Tartars* advancing until his Highness could send Succours: That, for his Part, he assured him he was, by Experience, so well satisfied of the Bravery of the Troops they then had, that if he would honour him with the Command of this Expedition, he was so well assured of Success, that in Case he miscarried he was willing to forfeit his Head. The Prince was so pleased with an Offer of this Kind, that he did not wait for any of the Generals Opinions; but immediately told him, You have, in your present Station, when Occasion offered, given such Proofs of your Conduct and personal Valour, as leaves me no Room to doubt of your future Behaviour; I do

therefore

therefore give you the Title of General, with the Command of all the Troops now here, and order you to march with them, as soon as possible, against the *Tartars*, and either give them Battle, or take such Measures as may seem to you most proper, in order to put a Check to their Progress. Accordingly a Commission *pro tempore* was prepared and signed for *Nadir Kuli* to command in this Expedition as General, and the Prince assured him, if he succeeded, he would use all his Interest at Court to get him confirmed. Altho' the Common-Soldiers were well satisfied to have *Nadir Kuli* to command them, yet all the General Officers, and most of the *Mîm Bashis*, his Seniors, refused to act under him, which the Prince being informed of, desired they would stay with him, and that others, whom *Nadir Kuli* appointed, should act in their Stead. Accordingly several Officers were promoted in order to supply the Places of those who staid; and the Troops set out with *Nadir Kuli* at their Head, with the same Resolution that he did, to conquer or die. The *Tartar* General, who lay about four Days Journey from *Mushad*, hearing the *Persians* were in quest of them,

called

called together all his Forces, who were out a marrauding in different Parts. *Nadir*, who bent his March directly towards him, on his Arrival, found the *Tartar* at the Head of his Troops ready to give him Battle; upon which he drew up his little Army on an Eminence, and told them, that half the *Tartars* at least were a foraging, and left to guard the Captives and Plunder; that he was assured they had not above 6 or 7000 Men, tho' they were drawn up loose in order to make the greater Show; and that he should not doubt of Victory had they been twice as numerous, from the Experience he often had of their Courage on other Occasions, which he was assured they would then exert to the utmost, as thereon entirely depended the Lives, Liberties, and Estates of their Countrymen. The *Tartars* charged with their usual Fury, which the *Persians*, animated by the Example of their young Leader, sustained with all the Intrepidity imaginable. Both Parties being brave, and equally resolute, a bloody and obstinate Action ensued, in which the Victory for a long Time seemed doubtful: At last *Nadir*'s Fortune prevailed; for having slain the General with his own Hand, the

the *Tartars* were immediately put to flight, the *Persians* pursuing and slaughtering them for several Miles. In this Battle upwards of 6000 *Tartars* were killed, and of the Remainder not half returned to their own Country, being either killed or taken Prisoners by the Peasants.

This Victory gained *Nadir Kuli* immortal Honour; and the *Beglerbeg* assured him, on his Arrival at *Mushad*, that he had wrote to the King to make him General under him, that is, Lieutenant General of *Khorasan*. But *Shah Sultan Hossein*, who was then King of *Persia*, being a weak and indolent Prince, never regarded the Services *Nadir* had done him, but appointed in that very Post, which he ought to have, a young Nobleman who had never seen any Action. This Affair was managed by the great Interest the other General Officers had at Court, who (tho' afraid to undertake it themselves) were highly chagrin'd at *Nadir Kuli*'s having had the Command of the *Tartar* Expedition: The King's Weakness giving them a fair Opportunity of indulging their Resentment, by procuring the Disgrace of this brave Man, who had no Friends at Court to sollicit for him.

Being

Being highly incensed at this Treatment, he waited on the Prince, and told him, he had depended on his Promise to no Purpose, for instead of being confirmed in his Post, he was degraded and disgraced for his good Services, and a young Fellow appointed to Command the Army, who was only fit to be shut up in a *Seraglio* with Women; that he observed, he was a Person nearly related to his Highness, whence he concluded he was raised to that Station by the very Interest promised him? The Prince assured him of the contrary, and as he had endeavoured to serve him, was highly displeased at his daring to tax him with a Breach of Promise. *Nadir*, by insisting on what he had said, and dropping some other unguarded Expressions, so far trespassed on the Prince's good Nature, that he ordered him to be bastinadoed on the Soles of the Feet, till his Toe-Nails dropt off, and turned him out of the Service. The Reader must not be surprized at this Sort of Punishment to a Field Officer, for it is frequently inflicted on those in the highest Stations, if they incur the King's Displeasure, and all the Nobility are liable to undergo it, if they disobey the Commands

of

of their Superiors in a Post subordinate to them. *Nadir* was now set adrift, and having no Friends at Court, had no Hopes of being re-instated; this made him turn his Thoughts On retiring to the Place of his Nativity, and endeavour to recover his paternal Inheritance. on his Arrival there, his Uncle received him very kindly, and he lived with him and his other Relations some Time; but on his endeavouring to recover the Command of the Tribe, by first insinuating privately, and then insisting upon it that it was his Right, his Uncle let him know he would not resign it, and treated him in a most contemptuous and slighting Manner. His other Relations did the same, which was Usage *Nadir*'s high Spirit could not bear, notwithstanding the State of Poverty he was reduced to, which was so very hard, that he was forced to borrow small Matters of any that would lend him, to procure the common Necessaries of Life. This was enough to beget desperate Resolutions in a Man who had deserved great Things from his Prince and Country, for the good Services he had done them; instead of which, as I have already observed, he was degraded and punished: And when he fled into

the Arms of his Relations for Relief, and claimed his Birth-right, found that withheld from him by his Uncle; and all those who, by Ties of Blood, ought to have been his Friends, turned his Enemies, for no other Reason that I could ever learn, but that they found him a bold enterprizing Man, and superior to themselves in Point of Genius and every other Respect. *Nadir*, in this melancholy Situation, determined to get that by Force, which he could not obtain by any other Method; and having associated with a Couple of stout Fellows of desperate Fortune, went upon the Highway, and robb'd a small Caravan of Three or Four Mules laden with Merchandize, and found Means to dispose of them, the Produce of which (setting aside what they wanted for present Expences) he laid out in Arms and Ammunition, and enlisted privately in his Gang all the desperate Fellows he could pick up. He set out a second Time with about 20 or 25, and robb'd a large Caravan of 30 Mules and Camels, laden with Merchandize and Provisions, which he carried to the Mountains, where Persons came secretly to him with Arms, *&c.* and exchanged them for Goods, much to their

Advantage.

Advantage. In this Manner he frequently robb'd, traded, and enlisted fresh Men into his Gang, most of whom were Soldiers who had formerly served under him, until he had 8 near 500 stout Fellows well mounted, with which Force he kept the Country in aw, and laid them under a Contribution, which they would not comply with, till he had first threatned, and afterwards performed his Resolution of carrying away their Cattle, and plundering and burning their Houses. But it will be proper here to take Notice, that he could not have reigned long in this Manner, but would have been pursued and overpower'd by the King's Forces, if the Empire had not been involved in War. The *Afghans* under *Mir Vaez*'s Son, had taken *Isfahan* and reduced the South-East Parts of *Persia* to their Obedience; the *Turks* had entered the Western Parts, and taken most of them; and the *Muscovites* had taken Possession of *Gilan* (the ancient *Hyrcania)* aud other Places bordering on the *Caspian* Sea; so that *Shah Thamas* having but two or three Provinces left, which were surrounded by Enemies on all Sides, he could not spare any Forces to reduce *Nadir Kuli*; the

Country People were afraid to attack him, so that he lived on them, and exacted what he thought proper for the Support of himself and his Followers. At this Time, one *Sef o' dîn Beg*, a General in *Shah Thamas*'s Army, and Chief of a great Tribe, called the *Bayots*, having offended the King, his *Persian* Majesty was determined to take away his Life, which *Sef o' dîn Beg* being privately informed of, he fled from the Camp in the Night with 1500 of his own Men, and not knowing where to take Sanctuary, he went to *Nadir Kuli*, and joined him. By this Addition to his Force, he had now got upwards of 2000 Men, and was become very formidable and expensive to the Neighbourhood. *Nadir*'s Uncle began to dread the Strength of his Nephew, who being not above 100 Miles off, might come and attack him whenever he pleased: He therefore wrote him a Letter, wherein he assured him, he was of Opinion, that if he would submit, and go into the King's Service, his Majesty would grant a Pardon to him and all his People. *Nadir* seemed very well pleased with this Proposal, and wrote his Uncle, that if he could procure the Pardon he mentioned, he should be glad

to

to accept of it. Accordingly his Uncle sent a Petition to *Shah Thamas*, in behalf of his Nephew. His Majesty at first seemed not inclined to pardon a Man who had been guilty of so notorious Crimes; but being told the ill Treatment he had formerly met with, forced him to take such Measures in order to support himself, that he was a gallant Officer, and that his Troops might be of great Service to his Majesty, who was in want of such Men, the King comply'd, and sent a free Pardon signed to his Uncle, which he immediately forwarded to *Nadir Kuli*, who, upon the Receipt thereof, set out with *Sef o'din Beg*, and 100 chosen Men for *Calot*. On his Arival there, his Uncle received him very kindly. Next Day he made a grand Entertainment for him and his Followers, which he intended to have continued for three Days, far from apprehending any Treachery from his Nephew, who now meditated Revenge for the Injury done him in withholding his Right, and slighting him, when reduced to the greatest Necessity. He had concerted with his Followers how to put it in Execution before he left the Mountains, and had ordered 500 more of his Men to set out the next Day after

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ter him; and to lay concealed near the Castle of *Calot* (which they might easily do, it being a mountainous Place.) Accordingly having that very Night made proper Preparations, about two in the Morning, at a Signal given, those within slew on the Centries, killed some, and seized the rest, whilst *Nadir Kuli* went to his Uncle's Chamber, whom having killed, he took the Keys of the Castle, and opened the Gates, in order to let in the 500 Men, who were ready at his Signal. His Uncle's Men, who were about 160, besides the Centries, had taken the Alarm; but *Nadir*'s People having secured the Doors of the Barracks where they lay, they could make no Resistance, so that they surrendered; and, being disarm'd were set at Liberty the next Morning: there was not much Bloodshed on this Occasion, not above fifteen or twenty being killed in all. *Nadir* immediately dispatched Messengers to those remaining in the Mountains, who came to him in a few Days. This happened about the Year 1726-7, upwards of six Years after he had been turned out of the King's Service in *Mushad*, as before-mentioned.

Nadir, by this Action, not at all to his Credit, had gratified his Revenge on his Uncle,

Uncle, and had all his Relations (who lived mostly in the Town, and the adjacent Villages near *Calot*) in his Power; but he shewed no Resentment to any of them: On the contrary, he treated them with Civility and Respect; several of them entered voluntarily into his Service, and are now with him in great Posts. He continued in this Place for some Months ruling in an absolute Manner, and raising Contributions, for fifty Miles round, to what Amount he pleased. *Shah Thamas* was fully apprized of all that *Nadir* had done, and was highly displeased at the ill Use he made of the Pardon sent him, which was to destroy his Uncle, and get Possession of a strong Place, whence nothing but a great Force could dislodge him; but as his Affairs were in a declining Condition, every Day seeming to threaten his Ruin more and more, being hemm'd in by the *Turks* on one Side, and the *Afghans* on the other, he judged it better to make use of the Rebel *Nadir*'s Assistance, than to weaken his own Force by attempting to destroy him. He therefore let him know, if he would submit and come to him, he should be graciously received, and admitted into the Service as a

Mim

Mim Bassi, and that *Sef o' din Beg* should likewise be pardoned, and entertained in the same Station. *Nadir* accepted this Offer, and having left one of his own Officers, with 500 of his Men, to command the Castle, he set out with the rest, and waited on the King, who at first rebuked him for what he had done, but told him and his People, that he had forgiven them, and did not doubt but their future Behaviour would make Amends for their past Offences. *Nadir* excused himself as well as he could, by telling the King the ill Treatment he had met with from the Prince of *Khorasan*, in being turned out of the Service at a Time when he ought to have been rewarded for his successful Expedition against the *Tartars*; and that the injurious Usage he received from his Uncle and Relations had forced him into the Measures he had taken to support himself; but as his Majesty had now generously pardoned him, he should endeavour to render himself deserving of the Clemency which had been shewn him.

As he had now frequent Occasions, he signalized himself by his Courage and Conduct, and was the Admiration of the King and the whole Army. The *Turks* (who before *Nadir*

dir Kuli's coming into *Shah Thamas*'s Army, were always victorious, and seem'd determined to extirpate the *Persian* Race, and divide the Empire between the *Afghans* and themselves, with whom they had made Peace (and entered into an Alliance) were now frequently repulsed with Loss, tho' their Numbers were vastly superior to the *Persians*; and in all these Actions and Skirmishes, *Nadir*, tho' he had but an inferior Command, yet he shared the most Honour; till at length the King made him a Lieutenant-General, having removed two of his principal Officers to make Way for him. As *Nadir* had, by his Station, frequent Opportunities of waiting on the King, he soon insinuated himself into his Favour. He had but one Rival to deal with, who was of any Consequence, namely, *Fatteh allah Khan Kajar*, with whom, in Appearance, he kept a strict Friendship; but the very Moment the King (being set on by his Creatures) had called that General to an Account for his Management, in Regard to the Army, *Nadir Kuli* assured His Majesty he had been a long Time sensible of the Abuses committed, and unless there was a Reformation in the Manner of paying

and disciplining the Army, the Troops would desert; that they already began to murmur at not receiving their Pay regularly, and complained of the exorbitant Deductions made out of it for Cloathes &c. The King, on hearing this, was highly incensed against the General, and declared, if what was alledged against him was true, he would order his Head to be cut off. He having nothing to say in his own Justification, but pleading it as a Custom which his Predecessors had always done, His Majesty ordered him to be executed on the Spot, and appointed *Nadir Kuli* General, who readily accepted of it, without the Formality of desiring to be excused on Account of his Inability to acquit himself as he ought in such a Post. This was in the Year 1727-8, and not above one Year since he was pardoned, and taken into the King's Service. *Nadir* having obtained that high Station, began to display Talents vastly superior to what he had discovered hitherto, and the King had so great a Dependance on his Management, that he seldom or never interfered in any Thing relating to the Military. *Nadir*, being sensible of the Trust reposed in him, was resolved to improve

prove it to his own Advantage, by removing those in the Army whom he had Reason to believe were not attached to him, and putting in those who were. He gain'd the Affection of the Common-Soldiers, by paying them with his own Hand the Moment he received the Money, and letting them have Cloath at the first Cost. Finding himself in this happy Situation, he wished for nothing more than Action, but his Forces (being no more than 15 or 20000) were not sufficient to act offensively against the *Turks*: However, he annoyed them so much by Means of flying Parties, that they were glad to sit still in their Quarters; they sent to acquaint *Shah Thamas*, that if he would relinquish to them the Right of those Places they had already in Possession, they would make Peace with him, and leave him to recover the rest of his Dominions from the *Afghans*. *Shah Thamas* let them know he would consider of it, and desired a Truce till he could get an Answer from the Grand Signior to some Proposals he had to make him; to which the *Turks* agreed, promising to commit no Hostilities until they received Orders from the Port, and so their Confines

were

were hired to *Hamadan* on one Side, and *Tabriz* and *Ardebil* on the other. *Shah Thamas* sent a Messenger to *Constantinople* with Offers of an Accommodation, but on Terms which he knew would not be granted; he gave private Orders to the said Messenger to pretend Sickness on the Road, and to delay his getting thither as long as possible, so as not to give the *Turks* any Cause of Suspicion. *Shah Thamas*'s Design was only to gain Time, that he might go and subdue *Meluck Mahmud*, Governor of *Mushad*, who had rebelled during the late Revolution, and set up as King. Having, thro' the Bravery of his General *Nadir*, taken the said Governor Prisoner, and seized his Effects, he set out with 12000 Horse to chastise the *Abdollees*, a Tribe of *Afghans*, who had taken Possession of *Herat* in *Shah Sultan Hossein*'s Time, and were now preparing a grand Army to invade *Khorasan*, and lay Seige to *Mushad*. The *Abdollee Afghans* met him about three Days Journey from *Herat*, with an Army of near 30000 Horse. As they were reckoned better Soldiers than the *Kandahar Afghans*, who had taken *Isfahan*, the King seem'd to dread the Event of the Battle; but *Nadir*, whose Courage was invincible,

invincible, assured the King he did not doubt of Success; that Victory depended more on Resolution and Conduct than on Numbers, and that he was satisfied his Majesty's Troops had both. Having drawn up his Army in order of Battle, he harangued them in the same Manner, telling them withal, that the Loss of that Battle would be the Ruin of *Persia*, and that they and their Generations would be made Slaves for ever if they did not conquer that Day; after which a general Shout was given. The *Abdollee Afghans*, who were drawn up at some Distance, hearing their Shout, returned it, and advanced with great Fury to charge the *Persians*. *Nadir* kept his Men close, and being posted upon a rising Ground, he played upon them with some small Field-pieces, which did great Execution, not suffering any of his People to discharge their small Arms until the Enemy was within thirty or forty Yards, when they made a general Fire, which made such Havock among the *Abdollees*, that they were obliged to retire, and give the *Persians* Time to load again. In short, after several desperate Attacks, which the *Persians* sustain'd with an uncommon Valour, a general Engagement

gagement ensued, in which *Nadir* behaved with a most surprising Conduct; for, tho his Personal Bravery natural carried him too far, his Vigilance was such that he always sent timely Assistance when it was required; at last, the *Abdollees* were entirely routed, 5000 were taken Prisoners, and near 15000 killed and wounded. The Loss on the *Persians* Side amounted to no more than 1500. After this he marched to *Herat*, and besieged it for some Months, until the Enemy submitted, and had agreed to pay down a certain Sum, and give an annual Tribute on Condition they might have a Governor appointed by the King out of their own Tribe; which being granted, they swore Obedience to *Shah Thamas*, by whom they were to be treated in future as natural Subjects. The King, who was in the Army, but did not command, set out for *Mushed*. *Nadir Kuli* having Orders to follow him as soon as possible, arrived there in *August*, 1729. About this Time the King received News that *Ashruff*, the *Afghan* (who succeeded *Mahmud*, the Son of *Mir Vaez*, and was then in Possession of *Isfahan*) was preparing to come and attack him with a powerful

Army

Army. The said *Ashruff*, hearing of *Nadir Kuli*'s Success, thought it dangerous to give such a Man Time to augment his Forces; he therefore resolved to crush him in the Beginning: For which Purpose, having compleated an Army of 30000 Men, he set out from *Isfaban* in *September*, 1729, and march'd towards *Khorasan*. This News alarmed *Shah Thamas*, and likewise his General *Nadir*; but his Troops, being flush'd with their late Victory, seem'd eager to be led against the Enemy. He was glad to find them in this Disposition, especially as he had but little Hopes of raising any great Number of Recruits, few People caring to enlist as they knew they were immediately to enter upon a desperate Action; however, he augmented his Army to near 16000 Men, exclusive of the Troops left in Garrison: Having set out from *Mushad*, by slow Marches he came to a Place called *Damgoon*, where, posting himself advantageously, he waited the Enemy's Arrival. When *Ashruff* came there, finding *Nadir Kuli* so well situated, he was unwilling to attack him, but was over-ruled in Opinion by his Officers: They told him, that by his declining to come to Action, the

Enemy

Enemy, would obtain a cheap Victory; as the Country People (on hearing the *Afghans* were afraid to encounter the *Persians*) would rebel, and stop all Provisions from coming to the Army. *Ashruff* then proposed to march directly to *Mushad* without attacking *Nadir Kuli*; which being rejected, the Signal was given for Battle. The Event convinced the *Afghan* Officers of their Error; for attacking them at that Disadvantage, gave the *Persians* a compleat Victory. 'Tis true it cost them dear, having lost above 4000 Men. The Loss sustained by the *Afghans* was about 12000, among whom were some of their best Officers.

After this Defeat *Ashruff* retired towards *Isfahan*, having scarcely a third Part of the Troops he set out with, a great Number of his Men (especially the *Persians* he had taken into his Service) having deserted after the Battle.

Shah Thamas, who was present in this Action, and an Eye-witness to the Conduct and Valour of his General, told him he had nothing to present him, worthy his Acceptance, but his own Name, and ordered that, for the future, he should be called *Thamas*

Kuli

Kuli * with the Addition of *Khan*, which signifies *Lord*.

Thamas Kuli Khan, (for so we shall call him until he is elected King) having refreshed his Troops at *Damgour*, marched towards *Isfahan*. The *Afghans*, at his Approach, quitted several of their Garrisons, and fled towards the Capital, and in some Places the *Persians* cut them off, declaring openly for *Shah Thamas*, and sending to *Kuli Khan* what Supplies of Men and Money they could furnish; so that, by the Time he arrived at *Cashan*, which is four Days Journey from *Isfahan*, his Army consisted of 40000 Horse and Foot. The *Afghans* laid in great Stores of Provisions, and seem'd determined to defend themselves to the last Extremity; but their Leader *Ashruff* chose to try the Event of another Battle before he suffered himself to be besieged. Having brought together all the Forces he could muster, which amounted to no more than 30000, consisting of *Afghans*, *Darguzzis*, *Hazarris*, *Persians*, &c.

* *Thamas Kuli*, signifies *Thamas's Slave*. The greatest Honour a *Persian* King can confer on any Subject, is giving him Liberty to make use of his own Name, altho' it is only to signify, he is his Slave.

he marched out to a Place called *Mourcha Khor*, which is about thirty *English* Miles from the City, and encamped there, waiting *Kuli Khan*'s Arrival, which not being so soon as he expected, he had sufficient Time to exercise his Cruelty on the *Persians* in and about *Isfahan*: At first, he ordered all the principal Men to be cut off, and afterwards all they could find in the Streets; so that, for the Space of twenty Days, there was not a *Persian* to be seen abroad, none appearing but Women, who came out to buy the common Necessaries of Life. At last, *Kuli Khan* arrived at *Mourcha Khor*, where, engaging the *Afghans*, he obtained a compleat Victory. *Ashruff*, having lost 7000 Men, retired to *Isfahan*, where, calling a Council, it was resolved, that all the Inhabitants should be slaughtered, and the Palace and other Houses set on Fire; which being done, they were to march off with all the Effects they could carry with them. Just as they were on the Point of executing this barbarous Resolution, those whom *Ashruff* had appointed to watch the Motions of *Kuli Khan*, sent to acquaint him, that the *Persian* Army was in full March towards the City. Upon which,

Ashruff

Ashraff ordered his Men to come to the Palace and load their Beasts with Money (of which there was a great Quantity) and then follow him, as they could only save themselves by Flight. This Order was executed with so much Dispatch, that before two o' Clock in the Afternoon there was scarce an *Afghan* to be seen in the City. The *Persians*, who before lay concealed, came out, and began to plunder all Houses without Distinction; even the Peasants from the Outparts flocked in in great Numbers to have their Share of the Booty; but on the Arrival of 1500 of *Thamas Kuli Khan*'s Troops, all the Rabble disappeared, and the Officers took Possession of the Palace, and placed Guards at the City Gates. The next Day being

November, 1730, he entered *Isfahan* with his whole Army, and continued there, cloathing his Men, and dividing among them the Plunder recovered from the Inhabitants. It was a Mattter of Surprize to most People that he did not pursue the *Afghans*; but in a few Days afterwards it appeared he had some private Reasons for it: For, on *Shah Thamas*'s Arrival (which was three Weeks afterwards) he declared that unless his Majesty

would give him the Power of levying Money in all Parts for the Payment of the Army, he would decline the Command thereof, and return to his own Country, being well assured that the Persons who should be ordered to supply him would be negligent, and by that Means frustrate all his Designs. The King was averse to this Proposal, and had Thoughts of removing him, but could fix on no other who was fit to supply his Place; having sounded some of the principal Officers, he found them of Opinion, that it was better to comply with *Kuli Khan*'s Humour for the present, and shew a proper Resentment of his Insolence when there was less Occasion for his Service; adding, that the Soldiers, at this Juncture, would be unwilling to serve under any other General. At last, His Majesty consented, but with the greatest Reluctancy: For, in giving that Power, he (in Effect) parted with his Crown. He did not even stop here, but heaped more Honours upon him, appointing him *Generalissimo* and *Beglerbeg* of *Khorasan*, and giving him his Aunt in Marriage. After obtaining these Favours he seemed perfectly zealous for his Master's Service; and,

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in order to convince the World of his Sincerity, would set out with an Army in the Middle of Winter against the *Afghans*, who, finding the *Persians* did not pursue them, when they quitted *Isfahan*, had taken up their Winter Quarters at *Shiraz*, and plundered and ravaged that Part of the Country in a barbarous Manner.

Kuli Khan, thro' the Severity of the Season, had lost upwards of 3000 Men; but, as his March was to the Southward, the Weather grew daily more favourable. Having arrived near *Shiraz*, *Ashruff* and his *Afghans* marched out with a Resolution once more to try their Fortune in Battle; they fought desperately for some Hours, but at last were put to Flight, having left a great Part of their Treasure, and most of their Women and Children behind them. A strong Detachment of the *Persians* were sent in Pursuit of them, who made several of them Prisoners.

Ashruff, with about 1500 of his Men, marched directly towards *Kandahar*. In the Way most of them deserted him, having only 100 when he was surpriz'd and set upon by a Body of the *Balluches*; with these few

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he made a desperate and brave Defence, but being greatly overpowered, he and most of his Party were cut to Pieces.

Thamas Kuli Khan, having staid about a Month in *Shiraz*, set out for *Hamadan*, in order to recover it, with other Places formerly belonging to the *Persians*, which the *Turks* had seized on during the late Troubles. On his Arrival there, *Abdallah Baska* came against him with all his Forces, who, being worsted fled towards *Carmanshah*: *Thamas Kuli* pursued him thither, and defeated him a second Time. Having staid a few Days at *Carmanshah*, and fixed a Garrison there, he set out for *Tabrîz*. As soon as he recovered and secured that important Place, he detached a strong Party to *Ardebil*, which the Enemy had quitted on their Approach. The *Turks* being thus unsuccessful demanded a Truce, which *Thamas Kuli* granted the more readily, as the *Abdollees* at *Herat* rebelled a second Time, and had a powerful Army in the Field.

Having secured, and left sufficient Garrisons in those Places he had lately recovered, he set out for *Herat*. After defeating the *Abdollees* Army, he laid Siege to the City, which

which being a Place of great Strength, held out until Famine obliged them to surrender. He put the Governor and all the principal Men to Death, and having peopled the Place with *Persians*, and left a Garrison of his own Men therein, he marched to *Mushad*.

During this Time, *Shah Thamas*, who was at *Isfahan*, finding the *Turks* were sending Forces from *Constantinople* and other Parts towards the Frontiers of *Persia*, he raised an Army of 20000 Men, and set out for *Tabrîz*, where, joining the Troops left there by *Thamas Kuli*, he marched to *Erivan*, and defeating a Body of *Turks*, besieged the Castle, but not being able to supply his Army with Provisions there, he returned to *Tabrîz*, and from thence intended to advance towards *Carmanshah*, but was prevented by *Ahmed Basha*, who, coming against him with a superior Army, entirely defeated him. A few Days after this Battle, the *Basha* sent him Word, he was impowered by the Grand Signior to conclude a Peace with him. The King came readily into the *Basha*'s Proposals, which were, that each Party should remain in Possession of what they had then got.

When

When *Thamas Kuli Khan* was informed of this Peace he was greatly enraged, and wrote to the King and several of the Nobility, acquainting them, he would soon wait on His Majesty, and convince him of the Necessity there was to break this scandalous Peace. Accordingly he set out with all Speed from *Muhad*, and in *August*, 1732. arrived at *Ispahan* with his whole Army, which amounted to upwards of 60000, all choice Troops. He waited on the King, and told him, He ought first to make an Example of those who advised him to such dishonourable Measures, and then carry on the War with Vigour against the Enemy. The King seeming unwilling to break the Peace he had concluded with the *Turks*, *Thamas Kuli Khan* told him, he had good Reason to believe most of the Courtiers were his Enemies, and had been endeavouring to prevail with His Majesty to take away his Life. The King assured him his Informations were not true. Upon which *Kuli Khan* presented the King with a Bundle of Letters, telling him, these would convince his Majesty, that he had just Grounds for his Apprehensions. After which he took his Leave.

These

These Letters had been wrote to him privately by several of the Nobility at Court, in which they informed against each other, and acquainted him with their Designs against him. They also let him know what had passed in several Conversations with the King; at the same time reflecting on his Majesty's Incapacity, and assuring *Kuli Khan* how much they had his Interest at Heart.

The King was astonished when he perused these Letters, and finding the Treason too general to be taken any notice of, unless he resolved to cut off the greatest Part of the Nobility, he destroyed the Letters, being determined to wait for a more convenient Opportunity of resenting their Villainy.

Thamas Kuli Khan, who with his Army lay encamped without the City, waited to know what Effect these Letters would have on the King; but finding he took no Notice of them, he consulted with the Chiefs of his Army, and acquainted them with the Steps he had taken. They agreed with him in Opinion, that the King's Intention was to destroy him and his Friends, and disband the Army; and that the late shameful Peace concluded with the *Turks* was chiefly with a

View of having more Leisure and Opportunity to accomplish his Designs. *Kuli Khan* told them, the only Expedient to save them and himself, would be to depose the King, and set up his Son in his Stead; by which Means they should have a fair Pretence of making a Rupture with the *Ottoman Porte*: His Officers came readily into this Scheme which was executed in the following manner:

Kuli Khan invited the King to a Review of the Army; he accordingly went, and was exceedingly delighted with the fine Appearance they made, and the Performance of their Exercise, the Merit of which he publickly attributed to the General. As the King was riding thro' the Ranks, some of the Under-officers and Soldiers said aloud, "If your "Majesty has any Commands, we are ready "to execute them." This at first surprised *Kuli Khan*, but on recovering himself, he, with his usual Presence of Mind, addressed the King, desiring him to tell them they were to obey their General *Thamas Kuli Khan*, to whom he had given the sole Command of the Army; which his Majesty complied with, and then went to a Banquet which had been prepared for him in the General's

neral's Tent. The King having indulged too freely in drinking Wine, (which 'tis supposed was mixed with some intoxicating Drug) he fell asleep on his Sofa. The General ordered his own People to carry him to a Seraglio in the Garden of *Hazar Jerib*. His Majesty's Servants who were then in Waiting, seeming to dispute *Kuli Khan*'s Orders, by telling him, they would take Care of the King, were commanded to withdraw at their Peril; upon which they endeavoured to make their Escape, but were seized by the Guards, and confined.

After *Kuli Khan* had secured the King, and placed Guards over him, he returned to his Tent, where most of the General Officers, who had been present at this Scene, were attending. He asked them, what was to be done further with the King? They replied, Nothing more than what is already done: But he soon persuaded them it would be necessary to keep him confined in some remote Part of the Empire: and accordingly three Days afterwards he was sent to *Mazandran*, attended by a Guard of 6000 Men, among whom were very few *Persian* Troops, being

chiefly *Afghans*, and others of the *Sunni* Religion.

After seizing the King, he sent a strong Detachment to the City, to take Possession of the Palace, and place Guards at the City Gates, and in some of the principal Streets. Early next Morning it was proclaimed by Beat of Drum, that no Persons, on Pain of Death, should stir out of their Houses. At Noon finding every thing was quiet and easy, a second Proclamation was made, ordering all People to carry on their Business and several Occupations, and go abroad, as usual.

The *Persians* made secretly great Lamentations, imagining their King was killed; but being informed he was alive, they flattered themselves with Hopes that the Army would rise in his Defence.

Next Day after the King was sent away, *Kuli Khan* went to the Palace in great Pomp, attended by all the Officers both Civil and Military. He ordered the King's Son to be brought out of the Seraglio, who being then in his Cradle, was placed on the Throne; the Royal Diadem was put at the Head, and the Sword and Target fixed to the Side thereof;

after

after which, with the proper Ceremony, he was declared King, by the Name of *Shah Abbas* the Third. *Kuli Khan* first swore Fidelity to him on the *Koran*, and the rest followed his Example.

This Mock Ceremony being over, he continued in the Palace until he had appointed proper Officers in the City and removed the Governors of distant Provinces whom he did not care to confide in. Afterwards he set out with his Forces against the *Turks*, and meeting *Ahmed Basha* at the Head of a numerous Army, within a few Days Journey of *Baghdad*, he entirely defeated him, and marched towards the City, which he laid close Siege to. The Garrison being very numerous, defended it a long time, but a terrible Famine raging among them, they were on the Point of surrendring, when *Topal Othman*, *Basha Seraskier*, and several other *Bashas* came with an Army, which, including Servants, *&c.* was upwards of 200000 Men. Having advanced near *Baghdad*, they obliged *Thamas Kuli Khan* to raise the Siege, and give'em Battle. The *Persian* Army, which then consisted of 120000 Men, charged so furiously, and seconded their Attacks with so much Vigour,

gour, that the *Turks* were just on the Point of giving Way, when *Kuli Khan*'s Horse was shot under him. Having fought some time on Foot, before he could get re-mounted his Standard-bearer concluded he was killed, and rode off with the Colours. This alarm'd the whole Army, who instantly faced about and fled: *Kuli Khan* endeavoured to rally them, but to no Purpose; the *Turks* pursuing with great Fury, made a terrible Slaughter of them: The *Persians* lost in this Action upwards of 60000 Men, and the *Turks* nigh as many.

This Defeat would have discouraged any but *Kuli Khan*, who had a Soul superior to all Misfortunes. He stopped at *Hamadan*, where in a few Days most of the Troops who were dispersed joined him. He told them he had certain Intelligence the *Turks* had given over Pursuit, and had divided their vast Army into lesser Parties, for the Convenience of foraging and getting Provisions, of which they were in great Want: That he was determin'd to go and attack 'em, one Party after another, and either conquer or die, since after what had been already done they could expect no Mercy from their Country, to which they

must

must never return but in Triumph: And should they give the *Turks* any Time to refresh and unite their Troops, they would certainly be an Over-match for them. His Officers being entirely of the same Opinion, he marched back with great Expedition, and fell upon the first Party of the *Turks*, who, imagining him to be at a great Distance, were not prepared to receive him. Having successively beat three considerable Bodies of them, he at last encounter'd *Topal Otman Basha*, at the Head of 60000 Men, who being shot in the beginning of the Action, his whole Army was soon routed, and put to Flight.

Since this Battle the *Turks* have not appeared in the Field against him, but suffered him for two Years successively to take one Place after another, some by Storm, and others by Capitulation, till he had recovered all the Territories they had seized during the late Troubles.

This unexpected Success had greatly raised his Reputation, and Volunteers came from all Quarters to offer him their Service. Having compleated a choice Army, he marched a second Time to besiege *Baghdad*.

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When the Seige was pretty far advanced, he received News, that *Mahommed Khan Balluche*, one of his Generals, had rebelled, and proclaimed *Shak Thamas* King; that he had taken the City of *Shiraz*, and had an Army of 30000 Men, which increased daily: Whereupon *Kuli Khan* immediately raised the Siege, and marching with all Expedition against the Rebels, was upon them when they least expected him. Upon the first Report of his Troops being near, they marched out to attack them, imagining it was only a small Detachment under the Command of one of his Officers, but they had not advanced above 20 Miles, before they met him at the Head of his Van-Guard, which consisted of 12000 Men. *Mahommed Khan Balluche* being overjoy'd to find him attended by so few, told his Officers, that Fortune had delivered *Thamas Kuli Khan* into their Hands; that they might easily defeat him, before he could have any Succours, as his main Army was a Days Journey behind: But when they approached each other, and heard *Kuli Khan* thundering out his Orders, they were struck with such a Panick, that they fled, without sustaining his first

Attack.

Attack. *Mahommed Khan Balluche*, who was personally brave, having singled out *Kuli Khan*, rode full Speed towards him; being repulsed, he fought his Way back again, and intended to make his Escape, by crossing the Gulf of *Persia* in an *Arab* Vessel; but those treacherous People seized him, and, in hopes of a Reward, carried him to *Thamas Kuli Khan*, who sent him to Prison, in order to force him into a Confession of his Accomplices, and what Treasure and Effects he had. In this he was disappointed, for the Moment *Mahommed Khan Balluche* was left alone, he hanged himself. They could find no Papers that gave any Account of the Persons he corresponded with, or where his Effects (which were very considerable) had been deposited. Thus ended this brave Man, who was deservedly esteemed for several good Qualities; he was as great (tho' not so fortunate) a Soldier, as any in the *East*, and judged to be the best Horseman in *Persia*.

Thamas Kuli Khan staid a few Days in *Shiraz*, being employed in putting to Death some of the principal Persons concerned in the Rebellion, and seizing their Effects. He afterwards returned to *Isfahan*, where settling

some Affairs, he set out for *Georgia*, and took the Capital *Tefliss* by Storm, upon which the whole Country submitted to him; from thence he marched to *Erivan*, the Capital of *Armenia*, which having recovered, he afterwards took *Shamakhi* by Capitulation, and *Ganjan* by Storm. In the mean Time, he sent a Messenger to the *Russians* to relinquish *Gilan* and the Silk Countries, according to their Promise, otherwise he should be obliged to pay them a Visit; as they had no Inclination to enter into a War with him, they evacuated all the Places on this Side the *Caspian* Sea, except *Derbend* and *Bachu*, which he had given up to them. Upon this he concluded a firm Peace with them, and not long after made a Peace with the *Turks*.

Having thus settled Affairs in Regard to those two Powers, he sent a general Edict to all the Rulers of Provinces, Chiefs of Tribes, and Governors of Cities and Towns, commanding them to meet him on a certain Day in the Plains of *Chuli Mogham*, on Pain of high Displeasure. At the Time appointed they appeared, to the Number of 6000 and upwards, at the said Place, where they found him encamp'd with an Army of 150000

Men.

Men. *Thamas Kuli Khan* ordering them to appear before him, he told them, the Reason of calling them together was to acquaint them that he had now subdued all the Enemies of the *Persian* Empire, except the *Kandahar Afghans*, whom he was determined to march against very soon; that, after he had reduced them to Obedience, he intended to retire, and end the Remainder of his Days in Peace and Tranquility, unless his Country should again require his Service; that he had made Peace with the *Turks* and *Muscovites*, and chastised the *Tartars*, and other Enemies on the Frontiers, in such a Manner, that (in all Probability) they would remain quiet for a long Time, so that it only remained with them to elect a King, either *Shah Thamas* their late Sovereign, or any other whom they judged the most capable; adding, that he expected their Answer in three Days. After this he retired to his Tent, and gave Orders that the said Assembly should be entertained at the public Expence, during their Stay in the Camp. In the mean Time, *Kuli Khan*'s Creatures took Care to intimate to the principal Persons, that they ought to compliment their Regent and General with an Offer

of the Crown, tho', at the same Time, they were certain, he would not accept of it. When the Time was expired, they waited on him with an Address; in which, after setting forth the signal Service he had done to his Country, they begg'd he would accept of the Crown, and take the Charge of the Empire upon him, and that they (as faithful Subjects) would assist him on all Occasions with their Lives and Fortunes. *Thamas Kuli Khan* told them, that he thank'd them for the Honour they had done him, which was contrary to his Intention in calling them together, yet as he looked upon the Voice of the People to be the Voice of God, he must submit to the Cares of a Crown, and sacrifice his own Ease to the public Good, not doubting but (by the Blessing of the Almighty, and their unanimous Concurrence) he should raise the *Persian* Nation to as great a Pitch of Glory as any of their former Kings had done. And, in order to set out right, and have a perfect Understanding with them, he should require three Things to be solemnly confirmed by them:

I. That they should make the Crown Hereditary to his Heirs for ever.

I. That

II. That no one, or Pain of Death, and Confiscation of Effects, should presume to take up Arms in Favour of the late Royal Family, or any Branch therof, on any Pretence whatever, nor so much as mention any Thing tending to Rebellion.

III. That, as great Disturbances and Mischiefs had always arose between them and their Neighbours, the *Turks*, *Indians*, and *Tartars*, on Account of the Difference of Religion; he desired a Number of the Religious of both Sects might assemble to consider of, and resolve upon, an Uniformity; adding, that as the Points in which the *Sunnis* and *Schias* * differed were not very essen-

* The *Sunnis* are those *Mahommedans*, who acknowledge as lawful the Succession of *Abubuckr*, *Aumar*, *Othman*, and *Ali*, and receive the *Koran* and *Mahommed*'s Traditions in the Sense they are expounded by their four great Doctors, *Abul Hanifa*, *Malek*, *Shafi*, and *Hanbal*.

The *Schias* are they who dispute the Lawfulness of the Succession of *Abubuckr*, *Aumar*, and *Othman*, and maintain that *Mortisa Ali* (according to the Prophet's Will) ought immediately to succeed him. They pay no Regard to the Opinions of the abovementioned Doctors, but are entirely guided by their own *Imâms*.

tial, he [illegible] of Opinion an Accommodation might be [illegible] offered.

The Grandees came readily into the two first Articles, but as to the two last they desired he would first hear what the *Mullah Bashi* (or High-Priest) had to offer on that Head before they should subscribe to it. Accordingly the High-Priest addressed him, and said, 'As to Matters of Religion we have the 'Law of God, and the Traditions of his Prophet *Mahommed* to direct us, it is not for 'Princes to make Innovations therein, and 'therefore I humbly hope your Majesty will 'not begin your Reign with attempting to o-'verthrow the established Religion, as a 'Step of that Nature must be attended with 'dangerous Consequences.'

immediately ordered him [illegible] prevent the People from attempting to second his Discourse, which they would certainly have done, if this sudden Execution had not deterred them from it. He then asked the People whether they would subscribe, and take Oaths to what he had proposed; which they tamely and readily submitted to. The next Day being *March* 1735-6 he was proclaimed Emperor of *Persia*, by the Name of *Nadir*

Nadir Shah, on which Occasion [illegible]rs, with a pompous Inscription † w[illegible] struck in his Name. [illegible] Having

† On *Nadir Shah's* [illegible]ing proclaimed King, Coins were struck in his N[illegible]e with the following Inscription.

سکه بر [illegible] کرد نام سلطنت در جهان
نادر [illegible] زمین و خسرو گیتی ستان

S[illegible]dir Zir Curd nam é Sultanit dir Jehan
N[illegible]dir é Irân Zemmi v' Khosro é G[illegible]ti S[illegible].

Which signifies,

Coins on Money have proclaimed through the Earth, the Reign of Nadir *of* Persian *Soil, and the King who conquers the World.*

On the Reverse in a Cypher,

الخير فيما [illegible] *Al Khér fi ma vackeh.*

Which signifies,

What has happened is best.

The Numerical Letters of the said Motto, make up 1148. the Year he usurped the Crown.

And on the same Side is,

ضرب في كرمان ١١٤٨ *Zirb fi Kirmân*, 1148.

Struck at Kirmân (*or* Carmania) in 1148.

Dr. *Mead* has one of these Coins, with two other different Coins, which have been struck in *Nadir Shah's* Name.

Having entertained the Assembly in a grand Manner for the Space of three Days, he dismissed [illegible] Princes, and treated them all with great Civility, excepting the Priests, who he found were commenced his

One of which has السلطان نادر *Al Sultan Nadir. The Sultan* Nadir, on one Side; and on the Reverse, خلد الله ملكه ضرب في قندهار *Khould Allah Muluck hi. Zirb fi Kandahar. May God perpetuate his Reign. Struck at* Kandahar.

The other, which was struck in *India*, after his Victory at *Karnal*, has on one Side.

هست سلطان بر سلاطين جهان
شاه شاهان نادر صاحب قران

Hist Sultan, bir Salatin Jehan
Shah é Shahan Nadir Sahib é Kiran

Which is to say

Nadir, *the Master of Fortune, and King of Kings, is the most powerful of the Princes of the Earth.*

On the Reverse,

خلد الله ملكه ضرب في احمدابادا ١١٥٢

Khould Allah Muluck hi. Zirb fi Ahmedabad, 1152.

Which signifies,

May God perpetuate his Reign. Struck at Ahmedabad *in* 1152.

bitter

bitter Enemies, for putting off the *Mullah Bashi*, and for the Nation they found He was determined to make in Religion but, in order to prevent their being able to do him any Injury, he sent for the Chiefs of them, and asked in what Manner they employed the vast Revenues they had. They told him that they apply'd them to the religious Purposes for which they were intended such as Salaries for Priests, the Maintenance of Colleges, and a great Number of Mosques in which Prayers were daily and hourly offered up for Success to the Arms of their Prince, and Prosperity to the Empire of *Persia*. He told them, that by Experience it was evident their Prayers had not been heard, since for fifty Years past the Nation had been on the Decline, and at last almost ruined by Invasions and Rebellions, until God's victorious Instruments (meaning his Army) had come to its Relief, who were now ready to sacrifice their Lives for the Defence and Glory thereof; that these poor Priests (pointing to his Soldiers) were in Want, and must be supply'd by some Means or other; that therefore it was his Royal Pleasure that the greatest Part of the Church Lands and Revenues should

be confiscated and appropriated towards paying the Army; which was accordingly done, and by an exact Computation found to amount to near 1,000,000 Tomans, which is about 3,000,000 *l.* per *Annum*. The Priests were highly enraged at this Treatment, and did all they could to stir up the Army and People against him; the former, being above half *Sunnis*, only laughed at them; and the latter, when they considered that by this they were to be eased of a Part of the Taxes, were not dissatisfy'd with it. After this *Kuli Khan* sent for the Chiefs of the People, and, acquainting them with what he had done, told them, if they wanted Priests, they must provide them at their own Expence; that, for his Part, having little Occasion for any, he would be at no Charge about them. He then published an Edict (of which the following is a literal Translation) ordering all his Subjects to conform to the *Sunni* Religion, on Pain of his Royal Displeasure.

A Tran-

A Translation of Nadir Shah's Edict for an Uniformity of Religion between the Schias *and* Sunnis.

ALL in high Stations, the *Sedr* * " [illegible] of great Power, the Governor, " Ministers of the Law, and learned Men of " the Royal Residence of *Isfahan*, being ex- " alted thro' the Kings Favour, KNOW " That while the abode of our Ensigns (on " whom Victory attends) was at *Sehrai* " *Mogham*. ‡ It was agreed at several Meet- " ings, that from henceforth, according to " ancient Custom (being fix'd and establish-

‡ This Edict is translated from a Copy in the Original *Persid*, which Dr. *Mead* was pleased to favour me with.

* The *Sedr* is a Person of great Authority in the Empire, who has the absolute Management of Church Lands, and what Revenues are appropriated towards the maintaining of public Schools, Salaries to Learned Men, and other pious Uses.

The same as *Chuli Mogham*.

" ed in the Religion of *Hanifa* ‖ and *Jaffer*, §
" as transmitted to us by our Predecessors,
" we do acknowledge the † directing *Khalifs*
" (on all whom the high God is pleas'd) as
" the Successors of the Chief of Messengers *,
" and whenever they present themselves,
" mention the Names of each of the Four
" with great Respect. Moreover, in some
" Places of these Kingdoms, at the Time
" of calling to Prayers, and standing up at
" Prayer, they mention these Words, *Ali*
" *the Friend of* GOD, ‡ according to the

‖ *Hanifa*, one of the four great Doctors, so famous for expounding the *Mahommedan* Law.

§ *Jaffer*, one of the *Imâms*, whose Opinion in several Points the *Sunnis* themselves pay the greatest Regard to.

† خلفا راشدين *Khulfa Raschedein*, the directing Khalifs, by which are always meant *Abubucker*, *Aumar*, *Othman*, and *Ali*.

* By the *Chief of Messengers* is meant *Mahommed*.

‡ علي ولي الله *Ali vulli Allah*, or *Ali the Friend of God*, is always annexed by the *Schias* to their *Kelmah* in this Manner,

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله وعلي ولي الله

La Ilah il Allah, Mahommed Rasoul Allah v' Ali Vulli Allah. Which is literally, *There is no* GOD *but* GOD, *and* Mahommed *the Prophet of* GOD, *and* Ali *the Friend of* GOD.

" usual

" usual Method of the *Schias*, and contrary
" to those who are orthodox. This is repug-
" nant to Religion, and contrary to the
" Agreement and Covenant entered into
" Besides it is evident to the World, that
" *the Prince of the Faithful, the Lyon*
" *of* GOD, *the Victorious*‖, is elect, prais'd
" and acceptable to the Lord of Glory, his
" Rank and Interest at the Court of Unity
" will not be increas'd by vulgar Testimony,
" nor the full Moon of his Power be dimi-
" nished by omitting these Words. The
" ill Consequence of this Form is, that both
" Sects§, who equally acknowledge the
" Chief and Prophet † of both Worlds, will
" by this Difference be provoked to Animo-
" sities, which are disagreeable both to the
" Prophet and to the Prince of the Faithful*.
" Wherefore, as soon as the Purport of this

‖ امير المومنين اسد الله الغالب *Emir al Mominin, Assad Allah, al Ghaleb, The Prince of the Faithful, the Lyon of* GOD, *the Victorious*, were *Mortisa Ali*'s Titles. He is said to be *Elect*, *Praised*, and *Acceptable to* GOD, because there is honourable Mention made of him in the *Koran*.

§ The *Sunnis* and *Schias*.

† *Mahommed*.

* *Mortisa Ali*.

"

" high Edict is known, let it be signified to
" all *Mussulmen*, High and Low, Great and
" Small, the Callers to Prayer in the City,
" its Dependencies, and the adjacent Coun-
" tries, That from the Day hence ‡ the
" these Words, as differing from the Or-
" dox Custom, be not mentioned. It is
" also usual with the Governors in their
" Assemblies, after *Fattaha* and *Tokbîr* ‡, to
" say, *May the King from whom all our*
" *Fortune flows, live for ever*. As a *Tokbîr*
" for perpetuating a mortal Man is vain, and
" of no Effect, I expressly order that every
" *Khan* who is Master of a *Tabal* ‖ and En-
" sign, say it in this Manner, *Thanks to*
" *the true King for all Benefits*. From
" henceforward all Persons must observe,
" these settled Regulations and written Or-
" ders: For, whosoever deviates therefrom,
" will incur the Displeasure of the King

‡ *Fattaha* is a preatory Prayer, which is generally the first *Soura* or Chapter of the *Koran*. *Tokbîr* is repeating three times these Words, الله اكبر *Allah Akbar* which is to say, GOD *is Greatest*, before the *Kelma* abovementioned.

‖ *Tabal* is a small Drum, which General Officers have fixed to their Saddles.

" of

" of Kings. Written in the Month " *Safer*, 1149 *."

This Edict was received with great Joy by Numbers of his Subjects, as many being ſtill of that Perſwaſion, as of the *Schia* eſtabliſhed Religion; it was particularly agreeable to his Soldiers, who being chiefly *Sunnis*, became thereby the more attached to him. However impolitic theſe Steps might have ſeem'd at firſt, yet it was the only Method he could have thought of in order to eſtabliſh himſelf and his Heirs on the Throne of *Perſia*; beſides the Advantages it already has and may ſtill give him in his future Deſigns on his Neighbours, who are of the ſame Religion which he has now eſtabliſhed in *Perſia*.

Shortly after he was elected and proclaimed King, he went to the City of *Kazvin* (or *Kasbin*) where the Ceremony of Inauguration of the *Perſian* Monarchs is performed. Having girt on the Royal Scymitar, and put the Imperial Crown on his Head, he took the uſual Oath, which is, *To govern the People according to the Laws of* GOD, *abre-*

* *June* 1736.

pealed by his Prophet Mahommed, *and protect and defend them against all their Enemies.*

After this, he marched with his Army to *Isfahan*, where he continued some Time, making Preparations for his Expedition to *Kandahar*. During his Stay there, he received the Compliments of the neighbouring Powers: The Grand *Signior* and *Moghol* acknowledged him as Emperor of *Persia*, and at the same congratulated him on having established the true Orthodox Religion in his Empire, and discouraged the former Heresy.

In *December*, 1736, *Nadir Shah* set out from *Isfahan*, with an Army of upwards of 80000, chiefly Horse, and marched towards *Kandahar*, by the Way of *Carmania*, and was shortly after follow'd by *Thamas Khan Vakeel* with about 40000 more.

What happened after this, the Gentleman who favoured me with the above Memoirs is a Stranger to; excepting that on his Departure from Persia *to* India, *which was in* February, 1736-7, *he heard* Nadir Shah *had besieged* Kandahar. *His Transactions since that Time, I shall continue as translated from some* Persic *Manuscripts.*

Manuscripts, which I have mentioned in the Preface.

The same Gentleman has also favoured me with a personal Description and Character of this great Heroe, which I shall reserve for Conclusion of these Sheets.

Nadir Shah, having securely established himself, and settled his Affairs in *Persia*, he left his Son *Reza Kuli Mirza* to command there, and set out with his Army towards *Kandahar*. *Hossein Khan*, the Governor thereof, having laid up great Stores of Provisions and Ammunition, held out for 18 Months; at last, being reduced to Straits, he sallied out with his Men, most of whom died bravely fighting. *Hossein Khan* and his Son being taken Prisoners, the *Persians* entered the Castle, and took Possession thereof.

While *Nadir Shah* was busy in securing and fortifying *Kandahar*, and bringing over to him the *Zemidars* of those Parts, Letters came from *Nizam al Mulukk* and *Saadit Khan*, inviting him to march towards *Hindostan*. In Answer to which, he objected the Difficulties of getting thro' the Defiles, passing the great Rivers, and the many Encounters he

must expect to have with the *Afghans*, and the warlike Nations of those Parts, the Opposition he must expect from *Naçir Khan*, *Soubahdar* of *Cabul*, and *Zekeriya Khan*, Ruler of *Lahor*, and, last of all (should his Fortune surmount all these) his Fate will depend on his Success against a powerful Imperial Army. They soon satisfied him how unnecessary his Fears were, and that before he cross'd the *Attok* *, he should have a Proof how able they were, and how much inclined to facilitate his Passage. Being encouraged by those Representations, he set out with an Army of 125,000 Horse, *Kuzzlebash*, *Georgians*, *Turks*, *Khorasanis*, *Balkhis*, &c. all inured to Fatigues and Hardships; they were well provided for this Expedition, and greatly encouraged thereto by the Hopes he gave them, of not only enriching themselves, but bringing Wealth and Glory to their impoverished Country, by the Plunder of *India*. In

* *Attok* is the Name of a River, that separates the Province of *Lahor* from *Peishor*. There is but one Place where an Army can conveniently be transported, the Stream being so rapid in most Parts. There is a Castle commanding that Passage, called the Castle of *Attok*.

the

the mean Time, *Nazam al Mulut* and *Saadit Khan* used all their Endeavours secretly to promote his Interest, and wrote to *Sperzih Khan* †, Governor of the Castle of *Cabul*, and *Naçir Khan*, *Soubahdar* of that Province (who was a Creature of *Khandoran*'s) as also to *Zekaria Khan*, Ruler of the Province of *Lahor*, to this Purport: 'Nadir Shah, 'being thoroughly informed of the State of 'Affairs in *India*, and that his Imperial Ma-'jesty and favourite Courtiers employ their 'Time in Wine and Women, has come to 'a Resolution to strike a Blow at this Em-'pire. You well know that none of the great Ones here are fit to take the Field, 'much less to resist a Man who is conduct-'ed by Fortune. As this is the Case, you 'can have little Hopes of Assistance from 'hence; the best you can do will be to be-'have discreetly, and save yourselves.' These Letters cooled them pretty much, and had

† 'Tis customary in *India* to have two Governors, one to command the City, and another to command the Castle. The Latter is generally for Life, and he must never stir out of the Castle, unless he is turned out by the *Mogbol*. The Governor of the City is called حاكم *Hakem*, and he who commands the Castle is called قلعه دار *Kullehdar*.

the desired Effect with *Naçir Khan* and *Zekariah Khan*.

Nadir Shah, having subdued *Ghorbund* and *Ghoznavi*, and garrison'd them with his own People, came to *Cabul* and besieged it. *Naçir Khan* (before his Arrival) had left it, and marched to *Peishor*; but *Sherzih Khan* defended both the City and Castle for 6 Weeks with the utmost Bravery, and wrote repeatedly to *Naçir Khan*, and to Court for Assistance; but none coming, both City and Castle were at last taken by Storm, and he and his Son were put to Death. *Nadir Shah* found Treasure, Jewels, Arms, &c. to a great Value, which, since the *Great Moghol Babr*'s Time, had been shut up in Vaults. When the Taking of *Cabul* was known at Court, the Emperor gave Orders to get his Troops in Readiness, and provide all Things necessary for taking the Field. As *Rajah Jessing* was more attached to *Khandoran* than to any of the other *Omras*, he repeatedly wrote to him to this Purport: '*Nadir Shah*'s 'Coming is a concerted Thing. You must

'be watchful over the *Moghol Omras* ‡, who 'seem to be united in order to compass some 'treacherous Design. *Naçir Khan* and *Sher-'zin Khan* have always been supported by 'the Court; one has sacrificed his Life to 'its Interest, and the other (afraid of his 'Life) has fled to *Persia*. If *Zekaria Khan*, 'Ruler of *Lahor*, makes any Opposition, it 'will give the Emperor's Army Time to advance pretty far, in order to check this Invader; as for us *Rajpouts* we are ready to 'join the Royal Ensigns.

Khandoran knowing him to be well-affected, represented this to the Emperor, and told him, it would be very imprudent in him to leave the Capital, and take the Field: However, it was at last agreed, that the Army should march to *Lahor*, that the Emperor should accompany it so far, and that from thence it should proceed towards *Cabul*, under the Command of *Nizam al Muluck*, and the other two *Omras*; for which Purpose,

‡ By the *Moghol Omras*, he means those of *Tartar* and *Persian* Families, whom the *Indians*, without Distinction, call *Moghols*.

the

the *Peishkhana* * was ordered out to the Gardens of *Shalimar*; but after it was sent thither, to every Body's Surprize, *Khanderan* came back to the Palace, and delayed the March, whereas *Nizam* seemed to be for hastening it all in his Power. The Emperor's Servants, who knew *Khanderan* to be attached to their Master, contrived all the Impediments they could think of, so that *Nadir Shah* had not only Time to secure *Cabul*, but was far advanced in his March to *Peishor* †, where the *Afghans* and Mountaineers very much incommoded him, and kept him in Play for Seven Weeks; in which Time he had a great many Men wounded and killed. Seeing there was no forcing the Passes, without much Bloodshed, and that the *Afghans* had fortified themselves on the Tops of the Hills, he sent them Offers of Accommdation, to which they came into the more readily, as the *Soubahdars* had sent no Assistance; and that they had been four or five Years without

* *Peishkhana* signifies the Tents, *&c.* that are sent before to the Place where the Prince, or General Officer, designs to halt, or encamp.

† *Peishor* is 202 measured Coss from *Dehli*, 97 from *Lahor*, and 35 from *Attok*.

receiving

receiving any of their usual Allowance ‡ from Court: Upon *Nadir Shah*'s paying them a certain Sum of Money, they not only let him pass unmolested, but several of them listed in his Army; the other *Agvans* hearing of this, followed their Example. So, leaving the main Army behind, with 10000 chosen Horse of *Kuzzlebash* ‖, in seven Days he got to *Peisher*. *Naçir Khan*, who with 7000 Horse had incamped without the City, not imagining he could get through the Passes so soon, upon hearing of his Approach with so large a Body of Horse, was greatly perplexed; several of his Auxiliaries left him, and few besides the King's Men stood by him, who, after a brave Resistance were defeated,

‡ As the Revenues of those mountainous Parts and the Passes, are not sufficient to maintain a requisite Number of Troops for the Defence thereof, there was a certain Sum appointed to be yearly remitted thither, which of late had been neglected.

‖ قزلباش *Kuzzlebash*, are an Order of Soldiers among the *Persians*, as the *Janizaries* (or more properly *Ingecherris*) among the *Turks*. It signifies, in the *Turkish* Language, *Red Heads*, so called from the Red Caps they wore when first instituted by *Shekh Heydr*, the Father of *Shah Ismael* first King of the *Seffi* Family.

and

and *Nagir Khan* taken Prisoner. Some *Afghans* who, waiting the Event, were posted on the Hills, seeing *Nadir Shah* prevail, came and offered him their Service. After this Victory, he entered *Peshor* and took Possession thereof. When the News of this Defeat came to Court, *Nizam al Muluck*, *Khandoran*, *Kummur Dain Khan*, and the other *Omras*, according to the King's Order, on the second of *January*, 1738-9, marched out with a numerous Army, a large Train of Artillery, and other warlike Necessaries, in order to oppose this Conqueror; and halted at the Gardens of *Shalimar*. *Nizam*, who was the Contriver of this Storm, endeavoured all he could to prepossess the Minds of the Soldiers with a Terror of *Nadir Shah*'s Forces, and how vain it was to resist him; and, at the same Time, amused them to divert their going too far forward: But the King issued out Orders, that *Nizam* and the other *Omras* should advance with all Expedition, he himself intending to follow soon after them. *Nizam al Muluck* and the rest, according to these Orders, marched on, and encamped in the Plains of *Karnal*, which is Fifty-Five

Cos

Cos * distant from *Dehli*. The Emperor also set out the 18 of *January*, 1738-9, and on the 4th of *February* joined them.

Nadir Shah having secured *Peisor*, and crossed the *Attok*, marched directly towards *Lahor*; *Zekaria Khan*, *Soubadar* thereof, had (to Appearance) fortified the Place in the best Manner possible, and having entrenched himself without, seemed eager to engage the Enemy, but as soon as *Nadir Shah*'s Troops came within Sight of the Intrenchments (having had his Leave from *Nizam al Muluck*) at a Signal given, he and all his Forces retreated to the Castle, from whence they cannonaded the *Persians* three Days, after which, having capitulated, one of the Conditions being that the City should be spared, a Thousand *Kuzzlebash* took Possession of the Castle, and *Nadir Shah* having staid one Week in the Gardens called *Shalimar* † of that City, he with his whole Army, by continued Marches, arrived at the Village *Tillauvri*, which is near *Karnal*.

* The Cos mentioned here are short computed ones, this Place being no more than 2 measured Cos from *Dehli*.

† There are Gardens at *Lahor* also called *Shalimar*, as well as at *Dehli*.

Before I begin with the Journal of Nadir Shah's *Transactions, after his Arrival at* Karnal, *I shall trouble the Reader with Translations of some genuine Letters, which having been wrote before the* Persian *Army crossed the* Attok, *I thought this the properest Place for inserting them.*

A Translation of a Letter from Nadir Shah *to* Mahommed Shah, *received the Beginning of* Jumadi al avul 1151, *which is about the Middle of* August.

'BE it clear to the enlightened Mind of 'your high Majesty, that my coming to 'Cabul, and possessing myself thereof, was 'purely out of Zeal for *Islâm* *, and Friend-'ship for you. I never could have imagin-'ed, that the Wretches † of *Deccan* should 'impose a Tribute on the Dominions of the 'King of *Mussulmen*. My Stay on this Side 'the *Attok* is with a View, that, when these

* By *Islâm* (which literally signifies *Safety*) is meant the *Mahommedan* Religion.

† The *Maharattas* or *Ganîms*.

'Infidels

‘ Infidels move towards *Hindostan* ‡, I may ‘ ſend an Army of the victorious *Kuzzlebaſh* ‘ to drive them to the Abyſs of Hell. Hi- ‘ ſtory ‖ is full of the Friendſhip that has ‘ ſubſiſted between our Kings and your ‘ Majeſty's Predeceſſors. By *Ali Mortiſa*, I ‘ ſwear, that (excepting Friendſhip, and a ‘ Concern for Religion) I neither had, nor ‘ have any other Views; if you ſuſpect the ‘ contrary you may; I always was, and will ‘ be a Friend to your illuſtrious Houſe.

About the latter End of *Auguſt*, an Embaſſador came with another Letter, demanding four Crores of Rupees (5,000,000*l.*) and four *Soubahs* or Provinces.

‡ The Province of *Dehli*, in particular, is called by this Name; but it is generally uſed to ſignify the whole Empire.

‖ Vide *Tarîkh Alum Arai* by *Sekonder Beg* in the Life of *Shah Thamas*, and the firſt Volume of *Akbar Nama* in the Life of *Hemaiûn*.

A Translation of some Paragraphs of a Letter wrote by a Kuzzlebash *in* Nadir Shah's *Camp, at* Jillalabad, *to a Friend of his at* Dehli, *concerning* Nadir Shah.

'HE has 36,000 Horsemen with himself; *Kassum Beg Khan* is *Nazem Munazem*, *Motbir al Muluck*, and *Aitmad al Dowlat* *; the Son of *Mo[illegible]*, is *Arriz Begi* †. Questions and Answers are entirely managed by these two, and besides them, none have the Power of preferring Petitions, or representing any Thing to him; of the above Army 1000 Horse are *Hajee Bashi*'s, called also *Niquîbs* ‡, and 1000 are *Shamkhi* ||, and 1000 are *Chaux* §, who go before, crying out, *Victory to the King of Kings*; 1000 Horse his special Guards, and

* *Nazem Munazem*, the Orderer of what is to be ranged or put in Order; *Motbir al Muluck*, Trustworthy of the Kingdom; *Aitmad al Dowlat*, the Security of Fortune; these are the Titles of *Kassum Beg Khan*, who was *Vizir*.

† *Arrizbegi* is the Person who presents all Petitions, either written, or by Word of Mouth.

‡ *Niquîbs* are much the same as Corporals.

|| So called from the Place they come from.

§ *Chaux* are a Kind of Guards.

'1000 Horse his *Jeloudar**, who alight and 'march on Foot close by his Person, but 'in Fight none of them attend him. Whoever runs away, or turns his Back is ordered to be cut off.

'5000 Horse are detached with *Hajee Beg Khan*, a *Courd*†, who is General. At 'present, we are arrived at *Peishor* to fight '*Navob*‡ *Nasir Khan*; 1000 Horsemen of 'his own People are along with *Juan Kuli Beg Baski*, and 2000 *Ousbeg* Horsmen from '*Gunjh*, 2000 Horse *Rijee*, 2000 Horse of 'the *Turcomans*, and 1000 Horse *Kuzzlebash*, are under the Command of *Sirdar* 'Beg *Afshar*; 4000 *Afghan* Horse with '*Sêf Khan* and *Shahîn Khan*, the Officers of '*Hossein Khan* Governor of *Kandahar*, and '12000 Horse are lately arrived with *Nadir* '*Kuli*'s Son from *Balkh*, of which 1500 are 'sent back, and the rest kept. There are

* *Jeloudar* signifies, *belonging to his Train or Equipage.*

† *Courd*, a Native of *Courdistan*.

‡ *Navob* is a Title frequently given to the *Omras* in *India*, derived from the Word *Naib*, Deputy, signifying that they are the King's Vicegerents. In *Persia* 'tis given among their other Titles, to the Wives, Sons, and Daughters of the Royal Family.

'4000

'4000 Shop-keepers, Muſſulmen, who Trade with the *Shah*'s* Money, he ſtanding to the Loſs, if any happens.

'After Morning Prayers, he ſits on a Throne, the Canopy of which is in the Form of a Dome, and of Gold; 1000 Young Men with Royal Standards of Red-Silk, and the Lance Tops and Taſſels of Silver, are diſpoſed regularly, and at a proper Diſtance; 500 beautiful Slaves from 12 to 20 Years old, ſtand one half on his right Hand, and the other on his left; all the great Men ſtand fronting him, and the *Arrizbegi* ſtands between in a Readineſs to repreſent whatever he is deſired, and every Body has his Cauſe decided at once; Bribery is not ſo much as known here. He has particular Information given him of every Thing that paſſes; all Criminals, Great and Small, Rich and Poor, meet with immediate Death. He ſits till Noon, after which he dines, and then repoſes a little; when Afternoon-Prayers are over, he ſits till the Evening Prayers, and when they are

* *Nadir Shah.*

over,

ober

2

'over, he shoots five Arrows into the *Khak* '*Towda* *, and then goes into the Womens 'Apartments.'

A Translation of a Letter wrote by Sirbullind Khan's *Secretary at* Dehli, *to* Mirza Moghol, *Son to* Ali Mahommed Khan, *at* Ahmedabad, *dated the* 15*th of* Shavul, 1151 †, *and received the* 6*th of* Zeecadi[illegible] 1151 ‡. *It is a true Account of the State of Affairs at* Dehli, *and the Reports that were Current there before* Nadir Shah's *Arrival.*

'NADIR SHAH's coming has been 'talked off these eight Months past. 'He came to *Khandahar*, and from thence

* *Khak Towda* is a Heap of fine Mold, well sifted, and beat strongly in betwixt two Stone Walls. 'Tis five Foot high, three Foot thick, and from three to four Foot broad. The Front of it very smooth and even, beat hard with a heavy Trowel. One who is well skilled, can shoot his Arrow into it quite to the Head; whereas one that shoots ill (be he never so strong) can't put a third Part in. The Arrows for this Exercise have the Iron Part quite round, about four Fingers long, of the Size of the Reed, until near the Point, where they are somewhat thicker, from which Part they taper gradually to a sharp Point. The Length from the thickest Part to the Point is from $\frac{3}{4}$ to 1 Inch.

† *January* 1738-9. ‡ 5 *February* 1738-9.

'to

'to *Cabul*, which is the Limits of *Hind* *, of which he took Possession; from thence 'he sent an Ambassador to *Mahommed Shah*. 'When we heard here of the Ambassador's 'coming, and *Cabul* being taken Possession 'of, which was in the Month † *Ribby al 'avul*. The Emperor's *Peishkhanna* was sent 'out for an Expedition against *Nadir Shah*; 'which, on Account of the Disharmony of 'the *Omras*, was kept in Suspence. About 'forty Lacks ‡ by Bills at different Times 'were remitted to *Navob Naçir Khan*, *Sou-'bahdar* of *Peishor*, that he, joining with the '*Afghans* of that Quarter, might make Head 'against *Nadir Shah*; the said *Navob* enlisted 'Men, and prepared to fight, expecting to 'be supported by an Army from *Shahjehana-'bad*; notwithstanding which, until *Rijub* ‡‡, 'nothing was put in Execution. *Nadir Shah* 'at *Cabul* cultivated a Friendship with the '*Zemidars* of that Quarter, and brought over 'to his Side the Tribe of the *Safis*, who 'are famous in those Parts. There were se-'veral Messages passed and repassed between 'him and *Naçir Khan*, to whom no Assist-

* *Hind*, the same as *Hindostan*.
† *June* 1738. ‡ 500,000 *l.* ‡‡ *Oct.* 1738.

nce

'arge came from Court; nevertheless he 'fought one good Battle, in which *Nadir Shah* was victorious. The *Safis* conducted 'him through unusual and short Ways to the 'City of *Peishor*, which he took Possession 'of in the Month of *Shaban* *. *Nawob Naçir Khan*, who had run away, was taken 'by the *Afghans*, and delivered up to *Nadir Shah*, who kept him confined for some Days; but, at last, made him one of his '*Vizirs*.

'When this News arrived at Court, on 'the 1st of *Ramazan* †, the Emperor sent '*Khandoran*, *Nizam*, and *Kummir o'dîn Khan* 'against *Nadir Shah*; and, besides their own '*Jaguîrs*, advanced them one Crore ‖ of 'Rupees out of the Treasury to enlist Men, 'and gave them 700 Carriage-Guns, and '3000 Harquebusses, and ordered the chief '*Omras* to attend them; for which Purpose 'they marched out this Day, and pitched 'their Tents in a Place close by the City, and 'began to enlist Men. *Saadit Khan*, being 'sent for from his Province to join them, had

* *November* 1738. † *December* 3, 1738.
‖ 1,250000 *l.*

'already crossed the *Ganges* in his Way to 'Court, but was ordered to go back again, 'which he did. The *Omras* have been di- 'vided in Opinion and Interest a long Time; 'for which Reason several unbecoming Mes- 'sages now passed between them. The 'Emperor, who consulted *Khandoran*'s Ease 'and Pleasure, ordered *Nizam al Muluck* and 'the *Vizir* to leave him at Court, and they 'to go on with the Expedition; but they 'excused themselves. In the mean Time, 'News was brought, that *Nadir Shah* (by '*Naçir Khan*'s Advice) had put on the *In-* 'dian Dress, and sat on the Throne in the 'Manner of the *Indian* Emperors, and that 'his Forces had crossed the *Attok*, and were 'on their March to *Lahor*. On this News 'the Emperor was quite confounded, and, 'sending for the Superintendant of the Boats, 'asked him how many Days it would take 'to go by Water to *Patna* or *Kassi Benaris* ||, 'It being told the *Vizir* and *Nizam al Mu-* 'luck, that the Emperor had such a Design, 'they petition'd him, that these Slaves (mean- 'ing themselves) might not go upon the Ex-

|| A City in *Bengal*, famous for the *Indian* Worship, and their Colleges there.

'pedition

'ndition without his fortunate Presence, and that he would resolve to put himself at their Head. Some Days passed in this Debate; at last, it was agreed to send for *Saadit Khan* from his Province to take Care of His Majesty in *Shahjehanabad*, and that the other *Omras* should march on towards *Lahor*. Accordingly, on the 20th of *Ramazan* * one *Mourid Khan* was dispatched to *Saadit Khan*; in the Road to the Province of *Audih* some Rebels robb'd him; however, after much Trouble, he got to *Saadit Khan*, who happened to be then so sick that he could not stir; with which the Emperor being acquainted, he sent Physicians with Orders to cure him as soon as possible; in the mean while, a Petition arrived from *Zekaria Khan Bahadr*, *Soubahdar* of *Lahor*, to His Imperial Majesty, and three Letters more to the *Navobs* †, to this Purport: *Nadir Shah's Army (which is a great one) is arrived near this Place, and all the* Zemidars *have joined him; I with my little Army am ready to fight him. You must, by all Means, be ex-*

* *December* 22, 1738.

† *Nizam*, *Saadit Khan*, and *Khandoran*.

'*peditious in succouring me, lest Things should be past Remedy.*'

'*Ieminabad*, which is a considerable Place, 'and subordinate to *Lahor*, was under *Kullinder Khan* one of *Zekaria Khan*'s Officers, 'with a Body of 10000 Horse. *Emir Khan*, 'one of *Nacir Khan*'s Dependants, who now 'had submitted to *Nadir Shah*, with his own 'People and several *Kuzzlebâsh*, made an 'Attack by Night on the said Place; in 'which *Kullinder Khan* was killed, and '*Emir Khan* possess'd himself of the Place. '*Nadir Shah*'s *Munaddi* † being beat about, 'and his Government acknowledged there: 'Upon hearing of this, *Zekaria Khan*, who 'had advanced 10 Coss from *Lahor*, with 'an Army of 20,000 Horse, retired into 'the City: Upon which News here, on the '9th of *Shaval* *, *Khandoran Nizam al Mu-'luck*, and *Kummir o'dîn Khan*, marched 'on 10 Coss; and the next Day 10 Coss 'more, and so on, that they are now at '*Sonput*, and *Nadir Shah* is yet in *Peishor*.

P. S. *Corn prodigious dear, the People distracted.*

† A small Drum that is beat about to notify or proclaim any thing.

* *January* 5, 1738-9.

A Tran-

A Translation of a second Letter from the same Person, dated the 20th of Shaval, *received the 8th of* Zeccadrh, 1151.†

'I Wrote you the 15th, with an Account
'of Affairs at *Shahjehanabad* and *Lahor*
'to that Date, and of the *Omras* being
'marched as far as *Sonput*. On the 18th of
'this Month * arrived News, that *Zekaria*
'*Khan* (being wrote to so to do by *Naçir*
'*Khan*, *Soubahdar* of *Cabul*, now *Nadir*
'*Shah*'s *Vizir*) sent *Kefaet Khan*, one of his
'principal Officers, to *Nadir Shah*, who used
'him kindly, and presented him with Two
'*Shauls*; after some Conference, he sent his own
'Ambassador along with him to *Zekaria*
'*Khan*, who called the Ambassador into his
'General *Divan*, and to Appearance spoke
'very roughly to him, and at last confined
'him; after which, he marched out of the
'City to fight *Nadir Shah*'s Army: When
'the Fight began, and one Discharge of the
'Cannon was made, as they were preparing
'a second, the *Kuzzlebash* and *Georgians* fell
'in among them with their Swords, and

† *January* 20, and *February* 7, 1738-9.

* *January* 18, 1738-9.

'made

'made a great Slaughter. *Zekaria Khan*, 'upon this, retired into the City, and *Nadir* '*Shah*'s Men purſued ſo faſt, that they got 'in at the ſame Time. *Zekaria Khan* went 'to his own Houſe, and *Nadir Shah*'s Army 'to the Caſtle, who was immediately pro-'claimed there.

'On this News there was a ſad Confuſion 'here. The Emperor, on *Thurſday* the 19th* 'in the Morning, ſent for the young Prince '*Sultan Ahmed*, who came to wait on him 'in great Pomp and Splendor, ſitting in a '*Paleki* adorned with the richeſt Jewels; at 'Ten o' Clock he mounted and came out of 'the Caſtle with an Intent to go upon the 'Expedition againſt *Nadir Shah*, and made the 'Prince (whom he had dignified with Titles 'and nominal Employments) his *Harol* †, 'and ſent him before to the Gardens of *Sha-'limar*: To-morrow they deſign to continue 'their March till they overtake the *Omras*, 'to whom they wrote not to advance any fur-'ther until they join them; *Suadit Khan* is

* *January* 19, 1738-9.

† *Harol* ſignifies *the Vanguard*, or any Number of Forces that are ſent before the Main Army. The Officer who commands ſuch a Body is alſo called *Harol*.

'not

not come up as yet; they say he is arrived on the Banks of the *Ganges*. Things are in a terrible Confusion here, Numbers of creditable People and Merchants going daily away to distant Places, and to the *Rajahs* strong Holds; 80 *Kuzzilbash* had their Bellies ript up at *Cabul*, for only being present when some of their own People forced one of the Countrywomen.

A Journal

A Journal of Nadir Shah's *Transactions in* India, *translated from the Original Copy, wrote at* Dehli, *by* Mirza Zuman, *Secretary to* Sirbullind Khan.

ON the 12th of *Zeccadih* §, the Royal Camp* in Circuit about seven Coss, was pitched in the Fields of *Karnal*; it was surrounded with *Mourchas* †, on which were mounted near 5000 Carriage Guns, belonging to the Emperor and the *Omras*. In the Centre was the Emperor himself, and fronting him were *Nizam al Muluck*'s and *Saad o'dîn Khan*'s *Mourchas*, on which were mounted the Emperor's own Ordnance, attended by the Train belonging thereto; on the Right Hand were *Khandoran*, *Mazuffer Khan*, *Ali Hamed Khan*, *Mîr Gullou*, *Shehdad Khan*,

§ *February* 11, 1738-9.

* The Great *Moghol*'s Camp.

† *Mourcha* signifies *Barricadoes*, but generally the Intrenchments and Breast-works about a Camp, or any other Post.

and

and *Khan Zurman Khan*: on the Left, *Kummir-ddin Khan*, *Azim Allah Khan*, *Jani Khan*, and *Seyd Neaz Khan*; behind the Emperor was posted, *Sirbullind Khan*, and in the Rear of all was *Mahommed Khan Bungush*; behind *Khandoran* was *Kirpa Ram*; with the *Jaats* ‡, and behind the *Wizir*, was *Hernina Amul Kowtpoutli*; on the Right, close by the *Nabar-Khana* §, were the Men of *Furroz Khan*, *Ishak Khan*, and *Assun Ali Khan*; behind them was the Station of the *Aheers* ‖; each of these *Omras* had his own proper Army, and the whole Number encamped amounted to 200,000 Horse and Foot. This same Day News was brought, that *Hajee Khan*, *Nadir Shah's Kurrol* *, had advanced as far as the Village *Tillauvri* (which is five Coss from hence) with a Party of 6000 Horse, all *Courds*: On the

‡ The *Jaats* are a Tribe of *Rajpouts*.

§ The Place where all the Drums and Warlike Musick are kept.

‖ The *Aheers* are another Tribe of the *Rajpouts*.

* *Kurrol* signifies the advanced Guard that goes before the Main Army; also the Officer that commands such a Body. It is the same as *Harol* already explained.

13th †, some *Kuzzlebash* Horsemen appeared at different Quarters of the Camp, and killed and took Prisoners several People, who were coming from the Out-Parts thereto; four of the *Kuzzlebash* were likewise taken and brought to *Nizam al Muluck*. On the 14th ‡, *Nadir Shah* having left one *Boungah* ‖ at *Shahabad* (which is one Stage from *Serhind*) and a second at *Tanisser*, he advanced with 40,000 Horse, partly Lancemen, Archers and Musqueteers, to the Village *Tilauvri*, each Horseman having two and some three Attendants, Grooms, and Camel-drivers, all robust young Men, compleatly armed and mounted, some on Camels, some on Mules, and others on *Yabous* §, not one in his whole Army being on Foot, even those who followed the Camp, and trafficked for Necessaries to the Men, were compleatly armed and mounted, the Number of all amounting to near 160,000. In the Time of Action the Master could not be distin-

† *February* 12, 1738-9. ‡ *February* 13, 1738-9.

‖ *Boungah* signifies the Baggage, and all the Furniture appertaining to a Camp.

§ *Yabous* are a [illegible] of small Horses, which are very hardy and serviceable [illegible]

tablished

Servant, nor the Tradesmen belonging to the Camp, from Soldiers, all of general behaviour and well qualified to execute Attempt they could. There were also about 6 who had been taken Captives and in *Kandahar*, who on a [illegible] be distinguished from the Soldiers, having a *Baranni* * over their own Cloaths, girt round with a Girdle, their Faces veiled with a fine Cloth, a Shaul folded round their Heads in Form of a Turban, and booted and armed as the Men.

This Day several Messengers came to *Nizam al Muluck* with Offers of an Accommodation, all which he rejected, and would hear of nothing but War.

On the 19th ‖, *Nadir Shah*, being necessitated for Water, marched from *Tillauvri*, and encamped in Place flanking *Khanauran*'s Rear, at a Distance of four Cos. This Morning *Saadit Khan* arrived in the Camp, and went to wait on the Emperor. About

* *Baranni* signifies a Cloak to cover one from the Rain, being derived from *Barr* Rain.

‖ *February* 19, 1738-9.

nin[illegible] Clock News was brou[illegible]
t[illegible]nts [illegible] and Baggage (so[illegible]
[illegible] Distance behind, and [illegible]
[illegible] Tents without the *M*[illegible]
Nadir Shah's Camp, and
had been attacked, and s[illegible]
[illegible]d, and plundered by the [illegible]
dit Khan, upon hearing [illegible]
bar ‡, and (with all Expedi[illegible]
his People's Assistance. [illegible] *Khandoran* [illegible]
nigh, he, with his two Sons, and the rest of
his Troops, joined him; as [illegible] also *Mazuffer*
Khan, *Seyd Hossan Khan*, *Khan Zaman Khan*,
Mir Gullou, *Shehdad Khan*, *Asslih ali Khan*,
&c. in all Twenty-two *Omras* and General
Officers, each with a Body of his own Men.

Nadir Shah, who had just then arrived
from *Tillauvri*, being appriz'd of this Af-
fair, advanced towards that Quarter, and de-

[illegible] *Mahomed Reza Khan*, *Saadit Khan's* [illegible],
or Paymaster and General, was the Person first attack-
ed by four or five hundred *Kuzzlebash*; several of his
Men were killed, and was taken Prisoner.

‡ *Dirbar* signifies literally, *the Door of Admittance*,
being a Word composed of در *Dir*, Door, and بار *Bar*,
Admittance. 'T[illegible] common Name for the King's
or a Governor' Pa[illegible]

[illegible]ied.

[illegible]00 *Courds*, 1000 *Kajiirs*[1], [illegible] and 1000 *Harquebuſiers*, in a [illegible], 3000 of whom he planted [illegible]ut Places in Ambuſh, [illegible] ſent towards *Saadit Khan*, and [illegible]500 towards *Khandoran* to draw [illegible]he Field; in which having ſlu[illegible] Horſemen who lay in Ambuſh [illegible]em in three different Places, [illegible]gaged them in a moſt obſtinate Manner. Beſides theſe 4000 none [illegible] of *Nadir Shah*'s Men joined in that Action, excepting that he himſelf, attended by 1000 *Affshar* Horſe, rode to and from all Quarters to encourage and direct theſe Men: The Reſt of the Army (according to his Order) ſtood drawn up at a Diſtance, each Nation ſeparate, ready at a Signal to come to his Aſſiſtance; but, as it happened, there was no Occaſion for them; the 4 or 5000 having fought obſtinately until the [illegible] the Evening, when the Emperor's Forces [illegible] Ground, *Saadit Khan*, *Sheerjing*, and *Khandoran*'s youngeſt Son, were taken Priſoners; *Khandoran*, having received ſeveral mortal

[1] *Kajiirs* are a Tribe of *Turcomans*, and the *Bachtiaris*, or *Bactrians*, are ſo called from *Bakhtir*, or *Bactria*, the Place they come from.

Wounds,

Y[illegible]unds, was carried back to his [illegible] *Mazuffer Khan*, with several oth[illegible] were killed; and some mortally [illegible] returned to their Camp; *Seyd* [illegible] being wounded, marched to [illegible] and great Numbers lay dead on the Battle [illegible]

When those who fled [illegible] ment returned back, there was [illegible]

* In a Letter that was wrote from *Mahommed Shah*'s Camp, a Day after the Engagement, it is said, that *Nadir Shah* fought with 50,000 Men. And when *Khandoran* and *Mazuffer Khan* came with their Forces, he divided his Men into Three Bodies, and at last routed the *Moghol*'s Army. *Saadit Khan*'s and *Sheriang*'s Elephants getting foul of each other, the *Kuzzlebash* surrounded and took them Prisoners. *Khandoran* received a Bullet in his Arm, and another in his Side.—*Mazuffer Khan* was killed, jumping from his Elephant.—*Mir Gullous Shehdad Khan*, *Akhlass Khan*, *Eadgar Khan*, and *Khandoran*'s eldest Son, were killed. *Akubeg Khan Kumlpish*, with his Son [illegible] *Abdal Rizâk Khan*, and *Jaffer Khan*, with his Son and Brothers; and *Sardâr Muluck* were wounded. *Mirza Khoudabunda*, Grandson to the Great *Mohabit Khan*, was killed.—*Khan Zuman Khan* was wounded by a Bullet in his Throat.—*Ghazi beg Khan* was also wounded.—On *Nadir Shah*'s Side, Seven principal Officers, and 2500 Men were killed, and about [illegible] wounded with Swords, *Cuttarri's*, and Bullets.

[illegible]ult

[illegible]t and Noise in the Camp, and most of the Tents and Effects of *Khandorau*, *Mansuf-fer Khan*, *Saadit Khan*, &c. were plundered by their own People.

Amidst this Confusion the Emperor went towards *Nizam al Muluck's Mourcha*, who was in the Front, and in Conjunction with the *Vizir* and other *Omras*, went without the *Mourcha* and drew up their Men in a Line of Battle, with a Design to put a Stop to the Enemies advancing any farther; but, had not the Night come on, these Precautions would have served them in little Stead, and that Day would have put an End to the whole Affair. About an Hour after Sun-set the Emperor returned back to his Tent.

Several of those who escaped out of the Field, as also those who attended the Baggage and Carriages, fled towards *Dehli*; a great many of whom were killed and plundered in the Way.

The Camp in some Places was very thin of Men, insomuch that when at Midnight, the Emperor sent for *Nizam al Muluck*, the Space from his *Mourcha* to the Emperor's Tent (which is about three Quarters of a Coss) was found entirely empty.

Nizam

Nizam ul Muluck, *Sirbullind Khan*, *Kamir ud din Khan*, and all the other *Omrahs* that were left, staid with the Emperor in deep Consultation until near the Morning; when each returned to his own Quarters.

On the 16th‡, finding the Camp so thin, and being apprehensive of the *Kuzzlebash's* attacking them, they contracted the Circuit thereof, and their *Mourchas* into the Compass requisite to contain the Number of Troops they had left, which was the Space between the Emperor's Tent and *Nizam's Mourcha*; and there they stood under Arms the whole Day, every Minute expecting the Enemy's Approach. Towards the Evening a small Tent was pitched for the Emperor, and all the Troops were disposed of to their respective Posts, where they continued under Arms the whole Night, and their Horses saddled without either Hay or Corn.

The 17th‖, also passed in Fear and Anxiety. This Day, according to an Order from *Nadir Shah*, *Saadit Khan* sent for his own Men and Baggage; some of them who

‡ The 15th of *February*. ‖ The 16th Ditto.

were

were scattered up and down the Camp, went to him carrying along with them all that escaped being plundered of his Horses and other Effects. *Nadir Shah* had ordered a Tent to be pitched not far from his own Quarters, for *Saadit Khan*, *Sherjing*, and *Khandoran*'s Son; their Baggage and Attendants he gave a Place to, without his Camp; none durst so much as come to see them, nor were they allowed to make use of any of their own Necessaries.

On the 18th †, *Nizam al Muluck* * and *Azîm Alla Khan* went to accommodate Matters to *Kadir Shah*'s Camp; after a Stay of six Hours, they returned back; what they might have done there, was kept a Secret. Towards the Close of the Evening, *Khandoran* died of the Wounds he had received.

† *February* 17, 1738-9.

* *Nizam al Muluck*, with *Azîm Allah Khan*, and several Horsemen, went out, and pitched a small Tent betwixt the two Camps, to which *Nadir Shah's Aitmaud al Doulat*, or *Vizîr* (*Kassum Beg Khan*) came, and from thence conducted him to his Master, who embraced him sitting, and made him stand honourably, close by himself; he gave him a Cup of *Sherbat*, and made him eat at the *Vizir*'s House; after which it was agreed, that *Mahommed Shah* should come and see *Nadir Shah*.

The 19th † also past in Deliberation, and at Night, *Nizem al Muluck* received a *Khalaet* ‡, on being appointed *Mir Bukhshi* ‖ and *Emîr al Omra*.

On the 20th * in the Morning the Corps of *Khanderan* was carried out of the Camp to the Village *Karnal*, and the Emperor sitting in a Royal Litter §, with a Canopy and an Umbrella, one led Horse and a Drum, attended by *Ghazi o'dîn Khan*, *Azîm Allah Khan*, the *Vizir*'s Son, and several Eunuchs, with about 200 Horse, marched out of the Camp, and when he had gone a little Way, by a Sign he forbad the Horsemen to accompany him any farther; then with his Eunuchs and the abovesaid *Omras* (each of whom had not above two or three Servants to attend him) he went on to *Nadir Shah*'s Camp;

† The 18th of *February*.

‡ *Khalaet*, a Present of a rich Vest, Arms, &c.

‖ *Mir Bukhshi*, or Chief *Bukhshi*, signifies Paymaster General, who commonly commands all the Forces. *Emîr al Omra*, signifies Prince of Princes, a Title given to the Favourite Minister, who thereby becomes Head *Omra*.

* The 19th of *February*.

§ The Word in the Original is تخت روان *Takht Revan*, or a moving Throne.

When

when he was about half Way, *Thamas Khan Vakeel* † came to meet him, and did him the usual Honours. Afterwards, *Nesr Allah Mirza*, *Nadir Shah*'s Son, who came in a Royal Litter, having alighted, paid his Respects, according to the Form ‡ of his Country. The Emperor ordering his own Litter to be set down, embraced *Nesr Allah Mirza*, after which, they both marched on until they came as far as the Train of Ordnance; here all the Attendants were obliged to stay behind, only the Emperor with two or three Eunuchs and the *Omras* abovementioned, were allowed to pass; when they came to the Door of the Royal Tent, and the Emperor was alighted, *Nadir Shah* came forth to receive him, having embraced him, he seated him close by himself, on the same *Musnidd* *; after the accustomary Forms of Salutation, and the Enquiry after each other's

† *Vakeel* signifies Agent, also Factor.

‡ Not in so submissive a Manner as is done at the *Moghol*'s Court.

* *Musnidd* is a particular Place in the *Divan*, commonly higher than any other, and large enough for two or three People to sit thereon. It is spread with a better and softer Carpet than any other Part, and is covered over with fine Linnen.

Health were over, *Nadir Shah* addressed him thus:

'It is strange that you should be so unconcerned and regardless of your own Affairs, 'that notwithstanding I wrote you several 'Letters, sent an Ambassador, and testified 'a Friendship for you, your Ministers 'should not think proper to send me a satisfactory Answer; and by Reason of your 'Want of Command and Discipline over 'your own People, one of my Ambassadors ||, contrary to all Laws, has been killed in your Dominions.

'Even when I entered your Empire, you 'seemed under no Concern for your Affairs, 'nor so much as sent to ask who I was, or 'what was my Design. When I advanced 'as far as *Lahor*, none of your People came 'with a Message or Salutation, nay not with 'an Answer to my Salutation to you: Afterwards, when your *Omras* were awaked 'out of their Lethargy and Indolence, they 'prevented all Means of a Reconciliation; 'and coming tumultuously with an Intent 'to stop my farther Progress, they brought

|| The Ambassador was killed on the *Peishor* Side of the *Attok*, by some rebellious *Rajpouts*.

them-

‘ themſelves into one general Snare, without ‘ having the Fore-ſight to leave any behind, ‘ who upon an Emergency could make Head, ‘ and retrieve their Affairs. Beſides this, you ‘ have fooliſhly cooped yourſelves up in your ‘ *Mourchas*, not conſidering that, if your ‘ Enemy was ſtronger, you could not re- ‘ main within theſe Barricadoes without ei- ‘ ther Water or Grain; and if he was weaker, ‘ 'twas both unneceſſary and diſgraceful to ‘ ſuffer yourſelves to be beſieged by him; be- ‘ ſides, if you thought lightly of him, and ‘ imagined him a raſh inconſiderate Man, ‘ without expoſing your own Perſon and Re- ‘ putation ſo much, you ought to have de- ‘ tached a faithful and experienced Officer, ‘ who, in a little Time might have found ‘ Means to diſtreſs and cut him off; but if ‘ you dreaded his Experience and Conduct, ‘ you had ſtill the leſs Reaſon (after provok- ‘ ing him thus far) to venture your All at ‘ one Blow. Even, when you had thus en- ‘ tangled yourſelf, I ſent you Offers of an ‘ Accommodation, but you was ſo puffed up ‘ with your own childiſh Conceits, and fool- ‘ iſh Reſolutions, that you would not give ‘ Ear to any honourable Overtures, or con-

ſult

'sult your own Interest; until, at last, by 'the Assistance of the Creator of the World, 'and the Strength of the Arms of the victo-'rious Warriors, you have seen what has hap-'pened. Moreover, your Predecessors were 'wont to take the *Jeziah* * from the Infi-'dels, and you in your Reign have given it 'to them, having, in these twenty Years, 'suffered the Empire to be overrun by them. 'But as hitherto the Race of *Temur* have 'not injured or misbehaved towards the '*Seffi* Family, and the People of *Persia*; I 'shall not take the Empire from you, only 'as your Indolence and Pride have obliged 'me to march so far, and that I have been 'put to an extraordinary Expence, and my 'Men, on Account of the long Marches, are 'much fatigued, and in Want of Necessaries; 'I must go to *Dehli*, and there continue some 'Days, until the Army is refreshed, and the '*Peishcush*, that *Nizam al Muluck* has agreed 'to, is made good to me; after that, I shall 'leave you to look after your own Affairs.'

Mahommed Shah gave no Answer during the whole Speech, but was fixed in a Silence,

* *Jeziah* is a Poll-Tax levied on all who were not *Mahommedans*, especially the *Hindu's*

which

which testified a good deal of Confusion and Shame.

To this Discourse, there was none present but *Javeaa Khan*, *Beh[illegible] Khan*, and *Ghazi o'dîn Khan*; towards Evening the Emperor returned back to his own Camp, and several of his Officers having represented to him, that the *Banians* made the Grain very dear, he ordered their Shops to be plundered, which, instead of mending the Matter, very much increased the Dearth of Provisions. On the 21st *, in the Morning, *Nizam al Muluck*, the *Vizir*, *Azîm Allah Khan*, and *Ghazi o'din Khan*, went to *Nadir Shah*: On their taking Leave to return, *Nizam* was honoured with a present of a Coat, Vest, and a Horse; the *Vizir*, *Azîm Allah Khan*, and *Ghazi o'din Khan*, each with a Coat and Vest; at nine o' Clock at Night, they waited on *Mahommed Shah*, and communicated to him what had passed in their Conference, which was not made publick: That same Day the Emperor ordered 500 *Beldars* to bury the Corps of those who fell in the Field of Battle, the Number of whom were found to be 17000, all of the *Hindostan* Army, and the

* The 20th of *February*.

Bodies

Bodies lay ſpread over the Space of ſeven Coſs; the ſaid *Beldars* having ſtrewed a little Earth on ſome of the Carcaſſes, returned back. It was reported that 400 of *Nadir Shah*'s People fell in Battle, and that 700 were wounded, but of thoſe that were killed not one was to be ſeen in the Field, they having buried them that ſame Night. Of the *Hindoſtan* Army, ſeveral were wounded in ſuch a Manner, that they were not able to ſtir, nor had any the Compaſſion to bring them off the Field of Battle to be cured, ſo that in a little Time they expired among the reſt of the dead Bodies; three Elephants were alſo killed.

On this Day (which is the 21ſt*) there was no Grain to be had without great Trouble, and that at the Rate of 1 and 1½ *Seers* ‡ of Wheat, *per Rupee*, and 2 to 4 *Rupees per Seer* of *Ghee* †; the Reaſon of which was, that ſince the Day of Battle, the Camp

* *February* 20, 1738-9.

‡ A ſingle *Seer*, which they call *Seer Cacha*, is 14 Ounces, 15 ¾ Drams; but the *Seer* mentioned here is a *Seer Pucca* of 1 lb. 13 Ounces, 15 ½ Drams.

† *Ghee* is only Butter well boil'd and skimm'd, which is preſerved in Jars, and keeps ſweet a long Time, eſpecially if a little Salt is put at the Bottom of the Jar.

was

was in a Manner besieged, and no Provisions allowed to come to them, nor durst any of the Soldiers go without their *Mourchas*. In *Nadir Shah*'s Camp (as they went out a foraging for 30 or 40 Coss round) Wheat was sold at the Rate of 12 *Seers* for a *Rupee*.

The Numbers of those killed since the Battle, on the Roads and round about the Country, by *Nadir Shah*'s Men, when they went out a Marrauding, amounted to 14 or 15000 Men.

On the 22d|| *Kassum Beg Khan* came from *Nadir Shah*'s Camp, and stayed with *Nizam al Muluck* until the Evening.

Mir Hossan Khan (who being wounded in the Battle, set out for *Shah Jehanabad*) being afraid of the Dangers upon the Road, returned back, and came to the Camp this Day.

On the 23d *, the Camp was removed to the Side of *Karnal*, opposite to *Nadir Shah*'s Army. In their March, the *Kuzzlebash* Horsemen carried off 27 Elephants, and 25 Camels, and in the Night Time, discharged a great many Guns.

|| The 21st of *February*. * The [illegible] Ditto.

On the 24 †, *Nizam* being ſent for, went to *Nadir Shah*'s Camp, where he with five or ſix of his Attendants were kept.

Several of the *Kuzzlebaſh* being ſent againſt *Taniſeer*, having plundered the ſaid Place, and ſlaughter'd the Inhabitants, returned with a great Booty.

In *Mahommed Shah*'s Camp, what Grain was to be had, was ſold from 2½ to 3 *Rupees per Seer*, and whoever went to *Nadir Shah*'s Camp, were allowed to buy as much as they conſumed there, but not to carry any away. About 8 o' Clock at Night, the *Vizir* received a Firman (or Order) from *Nadir Shah*, to this Import, '*Kummir o'dîn Khan* '*Vizir*, KNOW, that To-morrow *Mahommed* '*Shah*, *Sirbullind Khan*, *Mahommed Khan* '*Bunguſh*, and *Azîm Allah Khan*, ſhall 'come into the Preſence *, therefore look 'well after your People, that they be not 'diſperſed or ſtraggle abroad: when you 'have ſecured that Point, come you hither alſo.'

When the Emperor was appriz'd of this, he ſent for *Sirbullind Khan*, and all the other *Omras*, with whom he held Council

† The 23d Ditto.

* 'Tis common in the *Eaſt*, inſtead of *Court*, to uſe the Word حضور *Hazour*, *the Preſence*; and likewiſe the Word حضرت *Hazirit*, *Preſence*, to ſignify *Majeſty*.

until

until Midnight; at last the Emperor declared that Affairs were now gone beyond his Power, and that he must do one of three Things; To-morrow to march out and make one desperate Push, to determine his Fortune at once; or put an End to all Thoughts and Misery by a Dose of Poison; or else submit peaceably, to what Terms may be imposed. The Emperor's Inclination (tho' he did not then declare it) was for the last of these.

On the 25th ‡, *Sirbullind Khan*, *Mahommed Khan*, &c. were ready each with his own Men, that in Case the Emperor should make a Push, they might not be unprepared, and if on submitting, he should go to *Nadir Shah*, and bid them come, they should follow his Fate. But neither one nor the other of these Resolutions was fixed on that Day; Grain was not to be had on any Terms, and old carrion Beef, notwithstanding there was a great deal of it, was sold, 1½ *Seers*, for a *Rupee*. At Night, arrived a Note from *Nadir Shah* to this Effect: 'Sirbullind Khan, 'be of good Chear, and perfectly composed; 'get yourself hither before *Mahommed Shah* 'sets out.'

‡ The 24th Ditto.

On the 26th ||, *Sirbullind Khan*, having obtained Leave, marched towards *Nadir Shah*'s Camp, and, according to an Order, leaving his Men and Baggage on the Right-hand thereof, he, with *Khan Zad Khan*, three Horsemen and four or five Servants entered the Camp, and pitched a small Tent for himself near the *Bargah* *, close by *Saadit Khan*'s Quarters.

About nine o' Clock that Morning, *Mahommed Shah* (according to an Order) being seated in a Royal Litter, with a Canopy and Umbrella, set out for *Nadir Shah*'s Camp, attended by *Emir Khan*, *Ishak Khan*, and some Eunuchs. On his Arrival he alighted at a Tent, which had been pitched the Day before, by *Nadir Shah*'s Order, for that Purpose, in the Front of the Camp, where he was allowed to have as many of his Domesticks of all Sorts as were necessary, and 1000 *Kuzzlebash* Horsemen were detached as Guards around him About 8 o' Clock in the Evening, *Mahommed Shah*, being called, went to wait on *Nadir Shah*; after Three

|| The 25th Ditto.

* *Bargah* signifies the Place of Admittance, or the publick *Divan*, where Audience is generally given.

Hours

Hours Stay he returned to the Camp, and and there was an Order that none of the *Omras* ſhould be allowed to go to ſee him.

On the 27th †, *Sirbullind Khan*, being called, went to *Nadir Shah's Dirbar* ‡, he was ordered to attend the *Towpchi Baſhi* ‖ and the *Niſſikhchi Baſhi* *, who had each 200 Horſe, and that, with the Aſſiſtance of *Saad o'din Khan*, the *Towpchi Baſhi* ſhould ſeize all the King's and *Omras* Ordnance; and the *Niſſikhchi Baſhi*, with *Kummir o'din Khan's* Help, the Treaſury, Jewels, *Toiſhik-khanna* ⸸, and all the other Implements and Arms that belonged to the Emperor and the deceaſed *Omras*, and to ſend to *Mahommed Shah*, his Son *Sultan Ahmed*, and *Malika al Zumani* §, the Empreſs, and to give Orders to *Kummir*

† The 26th of *February*.

‡ *Dirbar*, ſignifies the King's or Governor's Palace.

‖ *Towpchi Baſhi*, the Maſter of the Ordnance.

* *Niſſikhchi Baſhi*, literally, Head Regulator, or Manager, an Officer who is generally ſent to regulate Diſorders, and make Seizures.

⸸ *Toiſhik-khanna*, where all Arms, warlike Furniture, Implements, *&c.* are kept.

§ *Malika al Zumani*, literally the Queen of the Times, *Mahommed Shah's* Empreſs.

o'din

o'din Khan and *Saad o'din Khan*, that all the Emperor's old Servants and Soldiers be continued in their Places, and brought along with them, but to let the *Baheers* ‖ and new enlisted Men go where they please.

Accordingly they went and seized all these Things, and sent the Emperor's Son, with *Malika ul Zumani*, and the rest of the *Mahl* * (according to *Nadir Shah*'s Orders) to *Mahommed Shah*.

This Day there were great Disorders and Confusion in *Mahommed Shah*'s *Boungah*, insomuch that a great many Things were plundered and lost, and several out of Fear leaving their Tents and Effects, ran to and fro looking out for a Corner to secure their Lives, especially the *Artisans* and Servants.

On the 28 †, *Mahommed Shah*, with his Men and Baggage, leaving only the Ordnance behind, went towards *Nadir Shah*'s Camp:

‖ *Baheers*, People employed for carrying Baggage.

* *Mahl* signifies *a Place*, but particularly where the Women are kept. It is also called *Harram*, (*i. e.* prohibited, or unlawful, in Regard to Men) and in *Turkey* 'tis called *Serai*, which signifies the same as *Mahl*. The Women therein are also called *Mahl*, which is the Signification it bears here.

† The 27th of *February*.

In

In the Way he discharged the *Baheers* and new listed Men, letting them go where they pleased. The *Omras* and the Emperor's old Servants, according to an Order for that Purpose, took up their Quarters at one Side of the Camp, being separated by a small Rivulet. The Effects of *Mahommed Shah* and the *Omras* which were brought, were put into *Nadir Shah*'s Possession, and having picked out 200 Cannon with their Carriages out of *Mahommed Shah*'s Ordnance, they sent them with some Treasure and other Effects then seized (accompanied by 1000 Horsemen, which belonged to the Emperor's Train of Artillery, and 2000 *Kuzzlebash*) to *Cabul*, to be from thence carried to *Kandahar*.

This Day *Nadir Shah* gave three Months pay as a Gratuity to every Man in his Army, Soldiers, Servants, Attendants, *&c.* just as he had done before at *Kandahar*, upon taking it.

On the 29th ‡, in the Morning, *Thamas Khan Vabeel*, was dispatched to *Shahjehanabad*, with 4000 Horse and Musqueteers to take Possession of the Castle; as was also *Saadit Khan* for the Safe-guard and Care of the City,

‡ The 28th Ditto.

and

and the Houſes and Effects of the *Omras*; and *Azîm Allah Khan*, for the Superintendency of the River, each with his own Men and Baggage, and ſeveral *Niſſikhchi* Horſemen; they were ſtrictly ordered to prevent any Harm or Damage being done to the Inhabitants of the City. *Sirbullind Khan*, being ordered, went to his own *Boungah*.

On the 1ſt of *Zelhujh* ||, *Nadir Shah* began to prepare for his March to *Shahjehanabad*, and at four next Morning he ſet out, attended by 20000 choice Horſemen; 4000 *Harquebuſers* were detached as a *Kouruck* * for that ſeparate Quarter, where the *Mehl* marched, betwixt which and the Army, there was a Diſtance of near one Coſs, no Soul on Pain of Death, either of the *Perſians* or *Indians*, being allowed to paſs that Way; each Party marched at the Diſtance of one

|| The 1ſt of *March*.

* *Kouruck*. When the King's Women in *Perſia* go out any where, a Number of Men go before-hand to thoſe Places through which they are to paſs, to ſignify the ſame, that no Body may appear there; the Women are guarded by armed Eunuchs, and ſometimes by a Body of Soldiers at a Diſtance, who if they find any Man or Boy in the Way, will kill him, or, at leaſt, drubb him very ſeverely; and this is called the *Kouruck*.

Arrow

Arrow shot from the other. *Mahommed Shah* with 40 or 50 of his principal People, and about 10000 *Kuzzlebash* Horsemen, and 2000 *Harquebusers*, followed *Nadir Shah* at a Distance of one Coss: On one Side was *Sirbullind Khan*, with his own Men and Baggage, next him the Men and Baggage of *Mahommed Shah*; on another Side were the Men and Baggage of *Nizam al Muluck*, and *Kummir o'din Khan*, and next them *Mahommed Khan Bungush* with his Men and Baggage, each Party separated by a Distance of ½ and some ¼ Coss, and between them marched *Kuzzlebash* Horsemen to prevent their joining, and make each Party march the Way that was appointed for them. The Compass of Ground they covered in their March was five Coss in Length and three in Breadth, and this Method was observed every Days March.

After five Days continual Marching they came to *Sonput*; there were several Villages in the Way which they not only plundered, but likewise killed a great many of the Inhabitants. *Paniput* and *Sonput* were also sack'd

On *Tuesday* the 6th of *Zelhujh* †, they marched from *Sonput*, and came to *Nirela*. In the Beginning of the Night, *Sirbullind Khan*, having feign'd an Indisposition, had Leave to go before to the City, and on the Morning he arrived at his own House.

On *Wednesday* the 7th ‡, *Nadir Shah* arrived at the Gardens called *Shallimâr*.

On *Thursday* the 8th ||, *Mahommed Shah*, by *Nadir Shah's* Order, being seated in a Royal Litter, with a Canopy and Umbrella, two Standards, about 200 Horse and Foot of his own Servants, and 4000 *Kuzzlebash* Horsemen, entered the Castle. After which they gave him a Place near *Aeysh Mahl* *. *Nadir Shah*, having heard, that the People of the City were of a seditious and turbulent Temper, did not care to enter in the Night Time. But this Morning, attended by 20,000 Horse, he marched with all the Caution imaginable to the Castle, leaving the rest of his Army encamped without the City:

† The 6th of *March*. ‡ The 7th Ditto.
|| The 8th Ditto.

* *Aeysh Mahl*, signifies *the Place of Joy*, one of the Apartments in the Castle. The Place they gave *Mahommed Shah* near it, was *Suliman Bourge*, or *Solomon's Tower*.

After

After he had alighted, *Mahommed Shah* came to congratulate him, and they breakfasted together. They were in Conversation until the Evening, during which Time *Nadir Shah* behaved with the greatest Complaisance and seeming Affection to him. He issued out Orders in the most peremptory Manner to prevent the Soldiers wronging or insulting any of the Inhabitants, and enjoined the *Nissikhchis*, who have the Inspection of these Things, to spare no Punishments, such as cutting off Ears and Noses, and bambooing to Death, whoever molested the *Indians*; for which Reason none of the *Kuzzlebash*, either high or low, durst injure any of the Natives; but most of the People were so frighten'd at the terrible Aspect of these Men, and the barbarous Figure † they made, that they avoided (as much as possible) having any Dealings or Conversation with them.

On the 9th ‡ at Night, *Nadir Shah*, having called *Saadit Khan* before him, spoke

† The *Persians*, however polite and luxurious, in Regard to the more Western Nations, are but rude and hardy, as to their Apparel, Diet, and Living, in Comparison with the delicate *India Moghols*, and the *Persians*, who have lived some Time in that Empire.

‡ The 9th of *March*.

 with

with a great deal of Warmth and Passion in Regard to the collecting the *Peishcush* || Money, and used some hard Words to him. At four o' Clock next Morning, *Saadit Khan*, who had been for some Time weak and indisposed, departed this Life. Some imagine he died thro' Anger for the Usage he met with, and others are of Opinion Jealousy provoked him to take Poison.

On *Saturday*, which was the 10th * of the Moon, and the *Eid Zoha* (or Feast of Sacrifice) after five *Ghurris*, and thirty *Pulls* †, the Sun entered *Aries*. This Morning *Sirbullind Khan* (being called) went to the Castle, where with *Thamas Khan Vakeel*, *Mustapha Khan Arrizbegi*, *Nizam al Muluck*, and *Kummir o' din Khan*, he staid the whole Day, deliberating on Means for collecting the *Peishcush* Money. This Day at Noon, *Thamas Khan* had sent nine *Nissikhchi* Horsemen towards *Pahr Gunjh* ‡, to order the opening of the Granaries, and settle the

|| This was a Present of a *Crore* of *Rupees*, which *Nizam* had agreed should be paid to *Nadir Shah*.

* The 10th of *March*.

† Two Hours, and twelve Minutes after Sun-rise.

‡ *Pahr Gunjh*, the Place where Corn is sold.

Price

Price of the Corn: Being arrived there, they caused them to be opened, and Wheat was sold ten *Seers* for a *Rupee*: As this Price did not turn to the Proprietors Account, towards Evening they assembled the Mob ||, and a great many disaffected People joining them, they killed the abovesaid *Nissikhchis* with several *Kuzzlebash*, who had come over to buy Corn. After Sun-set they spread a Report that *Nadir Shah* was taken Prisoner, and some said he was poisoned, on which the Mob and Tumult exceeded all Bounds, all the idle Vagabond and disaffected People joining from all Quarters, with what Arms they could most readily find, poured like a Torrent towards the Castle. Of those of *Nadir Shah*'s Troops, who were posted without at the Foot thereof, some retired within, and others went towards the *Reti**, (which is the Place 'twixt the Castle and River) and several of them were cut off: Those of the *Kuzzlebash* who had taken up their Quarters in *Khandoran*'s Palace and

|| The Promoters of the Mob were *Seyd Neaz Khan*, *Sheh Soar Khan*, the Son or Relation of *Kourrib Khan*, and *Raiban Nazr*.

* *Reti* signifies *Sand*, in the *Indostan* Language.

other

other great Houſes, kept a ſtrict and careful Guard the whole Night; ſeveral Cannon, Harquebuſes and Muſquets were diſcharged from the Caſtle and the ſaid Houſes, to keep the Mob at a Diſtance; all this Time they were increaſing, and became more and more furious: *Seyd Neaz Khan*, Son-in-Law to *Kummir o'din Khan*, had ſhut up in a Room ſeveral *Niſſikhchis* (whom he had taken before, as a Safe-guard to his Houſe) and now ſet Fire to it.

On *Sunday* the 11th †, about eight o' Clock in the Morning, when the Tumult was in its Height, *Nadir Shah* being highly provoked, walked out of the Caſtle, and mounting his Horſe, went from thence towards *Chandni Chok* ‡, to quell the Mob, who were committing great Diſorders in that Quarter, and in the Way perceiving a great many of the Bodies of his own People, who had been killed in the Night, he ſent a ſtrong Party to endeavour to ſuppreſs them, and in Caſe Threatning and fair Means were ineffectual, he licenſed them to cut them off, but on no Account to injure others who were

† The 11th of *March*.

‡ The Name of a Square *Bazar*.

not concerned. At first, they proceeded gently, which instead of appeasing the Mob, made them more bold and insolent, and without the least Aw, they began to discharge Fire-Arms, and Arrows, at them. *Nadir Shah* went into the *Missid* ‖ of *Roishin al Dowlat*, which is near the *Cutual*'s § *Chaboutra* *; the Inhabitants near that *Missid* got upon their Terrasses, and began to throw Stones, and either from one of these Terrasses, or a Window thereabouts, a Musquet was designedly shot at *Nadir Shah*, which missing him, killed one of his Officers who stood next him: This made him give Way to his Passion, and order a general Slaughter to be commenced from that very Place; the Soldiers in an Instant getting upon the Walls and Terrasses, began to plunder and kill. This bloody Scene extended from

‖ *Misjid* is what is vulgarly called a Mosque.

§ The *Cutual* is a Magistrate who, in all Cities, has the Care of punishing those who drink or sell intoxicating Liquors, and keep disorderly Houses; with several other Affairs, which are not of Consequence enough to be brought before the Governor.

* *Chaboutra* signifies a Tribunal.

the

the *Serafa Ardui* †, which is before the Castle, to the old *Eidgah* ‡, which is three Coss Distance, and on one Side as far as *Jittli Tomb*, and on the other as far as the *Tobacco Manduvi* and *Poul Meetai* ||. The whole Streets of the *Bazar*, and the Allies and Wards on all Sides, the *Khanum's Bazar*, and round about the *Jamih Misjidd* *, and the Cotton and Jewellers *Bazars*, were all plundered, several Places they set on Fire, and whomsoever they found in the Wards and Houses, Streets, Allies and Shops, Great and Small, Men and Women, they put to the Sword, even the Brute Creatures did not escape their Fury; several Women were made Prisoners. *Loutf Ali Khan*, the Officer who was appointed to slaughter and plunder towards the Square of *Saad Allah Khan* and *Dehli* Gate, when he came as far as *Sirbullind Khan*'s House, he, in a great Surprize and Fright, came out to meet

† *Serafa Ardui*, where all the Bankers and Money-Changers, belonging to the King and his Army, have their Shops.

‡ *Eidgah*, the Place where all the People assemble to Prayers, on the Two great annual *Eids* or Festivals.

|| *Poul Meetai*, a Bridge so called, because there are a great many Confectioners Shops thereon.

* *Jamih Misjid*, the Cathedral, or great Mosque.

the

the ſaid Officer, and repreſenting to him, that the People of that Quarter were not to blame, he made him deſiſt and ſtop his Men, on promiſing they ſhould pay a Sum of Money. But in other Places the Slaughter, Plundering and Burning went on in a moſt barbarous Manner.

Nadir Shah, after he had given the Orders, returned back to the Caſtle; about two o' Clock *Mahommed Shah* and *Nizam al Muluck* waited on him, who having made great Interceſſion for the City, the Soldiers were ordered to deſiſt, and it was proclaimed by Beat of Drum, that none of the Inhabitants ſhould be any longer moleſted.

The Slaughter continued from eight in the Morning till three in the Afternoon; above 400 *Kuzzlebaſh* were killed, and of the Citizens (great and ſmall) 120,000 were ſlaughtered, others computed them 150,000. What Treaſure and Effects were plundered, ſome *Nadir Shah* had, and a great deal was deſtroyed by the Fire. In ſeveral of the *Hindu* Houſes, where one of a Family ſurvived, he uſed to pile thirty or forty Carcaſes a-top of one another, and burn them; and ſo they did in the Streets; notwithſtanding which

 these

there still remained so many, that, for a considerable Time, there was no such Thing as passing any of those Ways. When the Slaughter began, those who raised the Commotion disappeared in an Instant, and left the innocent Shopkeepers, *Bazaris*, and many honest Families, to be butchered by the enraged *Kuzzlebash*; several, jealous of their Honour, not only killed their Women, but laid also violent Hands upon themselves; one of these unfortunate Wretches, in particular, when the Soldiers came near his House, burnt about twenty Women of his Family, and was in Expectation of their entering every Minute and killing him; by Chance they missed that House; but he was so infatuated, that, finding himself disappointed, he went out, and, bringing some of them back, shewed them the Way to his own House, telling them there was a good deal of Money and Effects therein. After they had plundered his House, they went their Way without killing him, which so enraged him, that he dispatched himself. There were great Numbers of People, especially Women and Children, burnt in their Houses.

On

On *Monday* the 12th †, the Prisoners, especially the Women §, according to *Nadir Shah*'s Order, were all conducted back to their own Houses, but with Eyes full of Tears, and in Circumstances not to be described or uttered.

On *Tuesday* the 13th ‡, a Party, who had been formerly detached by *Nadir Shah* to sieze the Cannon at the *Serai* of *Rouh Allah Khan*, having been cut off by the People there, in Conjunction with those of the *Moghol Poura*, who were chiefly *Tartar Moghols*, a strong Body was sent over thither, who slaughtered between 5 and 6000 of these People, and brought bound with them about 300 of those belonging to the Ordnance, also the *Hazarris* || and Head Officers. This Day, *Seidy Folad Khan*, received a *Kalaet* on being confirmed *Cutual* of the City. Proclamation was made by Beat of Drum,

† The 12th of *March*, 1738-9.

§ About 10,000 Women threw themselves into Wells, some of whom were taken out alive, after being there two or three Days. The Number of Prisoners released, Men and Women, were 5[illegible]000.

‡ The 13th of *March*, 1738-9.

|| [illegible]*i* signifies, *Captain of* [illegible]*nd*.

ordering every Body to betake themselves to their several Employments, and to be under no Apprehension of the Soldiers any more. A Body of Men was sent to the Granaries at *Nahr Gunjh*, which they sealed up and put Guards on; *Saadat Khan*'s Effects were seized and *Nizam al Mulluk* and *Kummir Ud-din* made a *Peishcush* of some Money and Effects which they had given in an Account of, and he registered in the List; the Effects of *Ali Ali* and *Mazuffer Khan* were likewise seized; the Jewels, Treasure and Goods of the former (not reckoning what he had in the Camp) was computed at no more than one *Crore* of *Rupees*; but *Mazuffer Khan*'s amounted to very nigh four *Crore*. This Day, according to the *Shah*'s Order, Parties of Soldiers were planted as Guards all around the City to the Banks of the River, and in the *Retee* opposite to the Castle, to prevent any Persons going out without License, but to hinder none from coming in: All those who were brought bound from the *Serai* of *Rouh Alla Khan*, had their Heads cut off, and were thrown into the *Retee*.

On *Wednesday* the 14th *, a Number of *Fakîrs***, wanting to go out of the City, with a Design to travel and beg abroad, the Out-Guards cut of their Nose and Ears, and made them return back again.

On *Thursday* the 15th †, as the great Heap of dead Bodies that lay about the Land in the *Bazars*, and other Places, caused a very offensive Stench, they pressed many of the People they met with in the Street and employed them in removing the Bodies. Some by tying Cords to the Feet, they dragged without the City. Some they threw into the River, and those whom they imagined to be *Hindu's*, they piled forty or fifty of their Bodies a-top of each other, and burnt them with the Timber of the demolished Buildings.

On *Friday* the 16th ‡, a *Firmân*, exempt- the Dominions of *Persia* from Taxes for three Years, was drawn up and dispatched by a *Choppar* ||. At the same Time the Ar-

* The 14th of *March*, 1738-9.

** *Fakîrs* are Beggars, or poor People.

† The 15th of *March*, 1738-9.

‡ The 16th of *March*, 1738-9.

|| *Choppar*, an express Messenger.

rea-

rear, * formerly due to the Soldiers, as also one Years Pay before hand, and six Months Pay as a Gratuity, was given to all his People even to the Servants, and those who trafficked for Necessaries in the Camp (each of these having a settled Pay from *Nadir Shah*) *Niçar Mahommed Shah* was sent with *Kuzzlebash* Horsemen, to bring *Saadit Khan* Treasure from *Pourih*.

Saturday the 17th ‡, *Sirbulind Khan* according to an Order, went to the *Dirbar*, where he stayed until the Even. *Nadir Shah* let him know, he was pretty well assured, that under a Pretence of old Age and Infirmity, he did not care to stir about in collecting the *Peishcush* Money and *Beavra* ‖ from the People in Offices, Merchants, *&c.* However, his Advice to him was, to behave with more Activity in that Affair, and make an End of it very soon.

* The Year's Arrears due to *Nadir Shah*'s Men was 4 *Crores* 80 *Lacks*, or 6,100,000 *l.*

† *Saadit Khan*'s Treasure, sent from *Luknowti* by *Munsour Ali Khan*, arrived the 25th of the 2d of *April*; being 80 *Lacks of Rupees*, which is 1,000,000 *l.* [illegible] *Mohirrim*, or

‡ The 17th of *March* 1738-9.

‖ [illegible] forced Contribution.

On

On *Sunday* the 18th *, the said *Sirbullind Khan* went likewise to the *Dirbar*, where were present *Nizam al Muluck* and *Kummir Ed'din Khan*, and he stayed there until Noon, *Thamas Khan* and *Mustaph Khan* pressing them concerning the Money, *Sirbullind Khan* and *Nizam al Muluck* as follows: " I have Castle, long Time ago foreseen this Disgrace, and frequently represented to the Emperor, " but before Things were past Remedy, he " ought to take some Measure, and not thro " too much Security, reckon any Accident " unworthy his Care and Prevention; I de- " sired him to employ some experienced and " faithful Person, and to give him full Power, " that with a Sum of Money and other va- " luable Things, as a *Peishcush*, he might " make up Matters, prevent the impending " Calamity, and live, as formerly, with the " *Shah* in an amicable Manner.

" Every Body imagined I couch'd some " Designs and Self-Views under this Advice; " they themselves would contrive no Ex- " pedient, nor would they rely on the Con- " trivance of another, until, at last, Affairs " are come to this calamitous and disgraceful

* 8th of *March*, 1738. [illegible] Time."

"ſſue." To this *Nizam al Muluck* made no Anſwer. Then *Thamas Khan* addreſſing himſelf to *Kummur o'din Khan*, repeated to him the Subſtance of what *Nadir Shah*, at firſt Meeting, reproached *Mahommed Shah* with: Afterwards he told him, "What is "paſt ſhall not be remembered. Now my "*Shah* wants the MONEY, uſe all Means "you can to raiſe it, and bring not yourſelves "into any further Diſgrace, by being [illegible] "hiſtory." *Sirbullind Khan* anſwered, "Un-"doubtedly we will raiſe it, wherever it is "to be found." *Thamas Khan* aſked him, if he had not Money himſelf. *Sirbullind Khan* ſaid to him, "If I had had Money, "I would have ſent it to you to *Khandahar*, "and prevented you the Trouble of coming "hither." In ſhort, by what paſſed at this Meeting, it was known, that *Nadir Shah*, after his Victory, and having eſtabliſhed his Power, had demanded of *Nizam al Muluck*, twenty *Crore* † of *Rupees*, (exclusive of the Jewels, Gold Plate ſet with precious Stones, and other fine Goods, ſeized [illegible] and other *Omras*) to be collected [illegible] the Kings Manner he could, out of the Kingdom in the beſt

† Twenty [illegible] are 25 Millions Sterling. [illegible] Treaſury,

his

his own Effects, and all the other *Omras*, wealthy People and Inhabitants. Such a Sum was not to be raised out of the King's Treasury, or the *Omras* Effects; for, in the King's, the Gold and Silver Coins did not exceed three *Crore* § : But, in the inward Vaults (which had been shut up and sealed for many Years, no Body knowing by whom they were sealed, or what they contained) there was found of Gold and Silver to a much larger Amount than the Money in the Treasury. *Nizam al Muluck* contributed a *Peishcush* of 1½ *Crore* ‖ in Jewels, Treasure, and Goods, as did also *Kummir o'dîn Khan*, to the same Amount.

Saadit Khan had formerly agreed to pay one Crore * of Rupees, and made good thirty Lacks † thereof, which was all that had escaped being plundered; he promised to send for the Remainder from his *Soubah*.

Sirbullind Khan, on Account of his Poverty, was excused from any Share, and three Crore ‡ of Rupees were appointed to be levied on some rich Inhabitants, each in Proportion, and the *Mansubdârs*, *Mutesiddys*, Officers, and th

[illegible] 00 *l.* ‖ 1,875,000 *l.* 1,[illegible]59,000 *l.*

[illegible] 375,000 *l.* ‡ 3,7[illegible] Thou[illegible]

[illegible] portion[illegible]

portion to his Circumstances. Formerly *Saadit Khan* was ordered to collect this Money. After his Death, and the Slaughter and Plunder of the City, this Business was recommended to the Care of *Sirbullind Khan*, and the other *Omras*, which *Thamas Khan*, at his Meeting, pressed them about: Accordingly it was now agreed that *Azim Allah Khan*, *Chuckl Keishwir*, *Vakeel* of the *Soubahdar* of *Bengall*, *Seeta Ram*, and all the *Mansubdars* and Officers of the *Chaboutra*, &c. should meet at *Sirbullind Khan*'s House, and make an End of this Affair. All Officers, Inhabitants, &c. who were suspected to be rich, were ordered to give in a List of what Money or Effects they were Masters of to be laid before the *Shah*, that what he liked he might take, and what he forgave them they might keep; and whoever pleaded Poverty, such Person should declare the same by a Writing under his Hand and Seal, that in Case it should be afterwards proved that he had given in a false Account, he might be punished.

That Day the People b[illegible] come to *Sirbullind Khan*'s Hou[illegible] forementioned [illegible]se, and having

paid until the Evening, and enroll'd some Names, returned to their own Houses.

On *Monday* the 19th ‡, they all met there again, and were taken up all that Day in the enrolling of Names, and preparing the List. This Day *Seyd Neâz Khan* (who, tho Night before the Slaughter, had shut up several of the *Kuzzlebash* in a Room and burnt them) was, by *Naâir Shah's* Order, strangled with a *Shaul*, and *Sheh Soar Khan* and *Raiban*, who in that Night were the Promoters of Mischief, were punished likewise. The first had his Head cut off, and the second his Belly ripped up.

On *Tuesday* the 20th ||, *Sirbullind Khan*, being sent for, went to the *Dirbar*, where he received a *Khalaet* of a rich Vest, from whence he returned Home to assist *Azîm Allah Khan*, and the rest in the Business they were about.

On *Wednesday* the 21st *, *Rehîm Beg Amîn Bashi*, with 200 Horsemen and Musqueteers, were appointed to be under the Command of *Sirbullind Khan*, that he might

‡ The 19th of *March*, 1738-9.
|| The 20th of *March*, 1738-9.
* The 21st of *March*, 1738-9.

ſend them to the *Manſubdars*, &c. to oblige them to produce all their Elephants, Horſes and Camels, with Orders that what ſhould be judged proper for the *Shah*'s Stables, ſhould be immediately ſeized.

On *Thurſday* † alſo they were employed as the Day before.

On *Friday* the 23d ‡ *Sirbullind Khan*, *Azim Allah Khan*, &c. according to an Order, met at the Caſtle, where was held a Council for aſcertaining the Money of the *Peiſhcuſh*.

There was an Order made, that *Murid Khan* ||, with fifty of *Sirbullind Khan*'s Horſemen, ſhould carry a *Sirrapah* and *Firmân* to *Sujaat Khan*, *Soubahdar* of *Bengal*, and to take from him the three Years Treaſure and a *Peiſhcuſh*: Accordingly 1000 *Rupees* * were given out of the *Shah*'s Treaſury to *Murid Khan* for his Expences, and 3220 *Rupees* § to the fifty Horſemen for their Charges.

† The 22d of *March*, 1738-9.

‡ The 23d of *March*, 1738-9.

|| *Murid Khan* (alias *Mahommed* [illegible]) was ſent in Company with *Mir Tuckee Kuli beg*.

* 125 *l.* § 402 *l.* 10 [illegible] s.

Saturday,

Saturday, *Sunday*, and *Monday* ‡ were employed in the *Peishcush* Affair. During this Time they were busy in preparing Illuminations on the Banks of the River, and Fireworks for the Wedding of *Nesr Allah Mirza*, *Nadir Shah*'s Son, who was to be married to the Daughter of *Iesdan Bukhsh* the Son of *Kam Bukhsh* and Grandson of *Aurungzebe*.

On *Tuesday* Night ‖ the Marriage was consummated. *Mahommed Shah* made the young Princess a present of Jewels to the Value of 50,000 *Rupees* *, and in ready Money 50000 † more. Some Days after the Marriage, *Nadir Shah* sent her Jewels to the Value of five Lack of *Rupees* ‡.

The Council for ascertaining the *Peishcush* was continually held in the Castle, near the *Divan of Justice*, at which assisted *Thamas Khan*, *Mustapha Khan*, and *Mahommed Shah*'s *Omras*, until the tenth of *Mohirrim* § at Noon, and during that Time every Body was present at the said Place from Sun-rise to Sun-

‡ The 24th, 25th, and 26th of *March*, 1738-9.
‖ The 27th of *March*, 1739.
* 6250 *l.* † 6250 *l.* ‡ 62,500 *l.*
§ The 8th of *April*, 1739.

set.

ſe. All the *Vakeel* and Agents of the *Man-ſubdar* and other Officers, gave conſtant Attendance, and at Night each returned to his own Houſe without having a Centry or Guard over them. In thoſe Days, and alſo afterwards, ſeveral People, finding Affairs go hard with them, left their Effects and Families behind, and made their Eſcape out of the City in the beſt Manner they could, being glad at any Rate to ſave their Lives; ſeveral of *Mahommed Shah's Omras* were obliged to ſtay the whole Day in the Caſtle, in a mean Manner and perpetual Fear, with but one Horſe and a few Servants to attend them, and at Night they returned to their own Houſes.

In theſe Days of *Mohirrim*, no Perſon, either of *Hindoſtan* or the *Kuzzilebaſh*, durſt ſo much as mention the Words, *Tazia* * or

* *Tazia* ſignifies *Mourning*, and *Mâtim* ſignifies *Death*. It is cuſtomary with the *Schias*, to make great Lamentations annually for *Mortiſa* the two Sons, *Imâm Hoſſan* and *Imâm Hoſſein*, on the firſt Ten Days of *Mohirrim*. The former was poiſon'd by his Wife *Joada*, at *Medina*, in the *Khaliſſhip* of *Mauvia*, on *Thurſday* the 7th of *Safer*, in the 50th Year of the *Hegira*. The latter was killed in the Deſart of *Kirbela*, by *Shimr*, a Soldier belonging to *Iezîd*, the Son of *Mauvia*, *Khalifa* of *Syria*, on *Friday* the 10th *Mohirrim*, in the 61ſt Year of the *Hegira*.

Mâtim,

Matim, Some of *Nadir Shah*'s Soldiers, who were incamped without the City, having one of these Nights, made a Noise of Mourning and beating their Breasts, were severely punished by him. During this Time, a great many People were very hard pressed for their Quota's of the *Peishcush*, insomuch that several, to save their Credit and Reputation, killed themselves. Amongst the rest, *Alim Allah*, the adopted Son of *Seidy Folad Khan*; and his *Naib*, who acted entirely in all Things belonging to the *Cutual*'s Office, having been ill used, and publickly disgraced, on the fifth of *Mohirrim* †, cut open his own Bowels with his *Cuttari* ‡, and died soon after.

On the 6th ‖, *Mijilis Rai*, *Kummir o'din Khan*'s *Duan*, was sent for by *Thamas Khan*, who ordered one of his Ears to be cut off in his Master's Presence. *Kummir o'din Khan* was going to intercede for him, which *Thamas Khan* perceiving, he told him in an angry Tone, "It will be your Turn by and by," which presently silenced him, and *Mijilis*

† The 3d of *April*, 1739.

‡ A Sort of Dagger wore by the *Indians*.

‖ The 4th of *April*, 1739.

Rai

Rai taking the above Usage to Heart, killed himself afterwards, on the 12th *. Several of the King's *Mutesiddys* were so beat with Sticks, in *Thamas Khan*'s Presence, that the Blood flowed out about their Faces and other Parts.

Sitâ Ram, and *Chuckl Keishvir* †, were violently beat on the Back and Sides. When the List of Names was ready, *Nadir Shah* appointed *Nizam al Muluck*, *Sirbullind Khan* ‡,

* The 10th of *April*, 1739.

† *Chuckl Keishvir*, the *Bengal Vackeel*, being ordered to send for Seven *Crores* of *Rupees*, said, So much would make a String of Waggons from *Bengal* to *Dehli*; for which being roughly used, he went home, and murdered himself and Family.

‡ *Sirbullind Khan* pressing very hard upon the People, *Kamiab Khan*, Relation to *Kummir o'dîn Khan*, with *Arrib Khan*, and others, killed themselves, after paying in several *Lacks*; and the Complaints thereof coming to *Nadir Shah*, Twenty *Lacks* of *Rupees* were remitted to great Men, who were found indigent. *Sherîf Kuli Khan*, Son to *Khadr al Nissa Begum*, and several Eunuchs, complained to *Mahommed Shah* of *Sirbullind Khan*'s ruining People, and his Exactions, and that he wanted Three *Lacks* from him; *Mahommed Shah* sent for *Abdul Baki Khan*, one of *Nadir Shah*'s Viziers, who managed betwixt them Two, and bid him acquaint his Master therewith, who sent for *Sirbullind Khan*, whom he found innocent of what was laid to his Charge.

Kummir

Kummir-o'din Khan, *Azim Allah Khan*, and *Mortisa Khan*, the Brother of *Murid Khan*, to collect the Money; he told them, he expected they would collect the said three *Crore* ‖, and pay it in Ten Days Time: They divided the Sum and Names into five Parts, and had a 1000 *Kuzzlebash* Horsemen, 200 each, that in Case any on their List made Delays in paying their Quota, they might oblige them thereto by Blows: So that on the 10th * at Noon, the said *Omras* with the appointed Horsemen, set about collecting the Money: The People, in Respect to their Circumstances, were very unequally taxed, for some who were Masters of ten *Lacks* †, were only set down 5000 ‡ and others who could not muster 10,000 §, were set down 12,000 ¶. This was not owing either to the Favour or Ill-Will of the Managers, but to their own good or bad Luck; and when the Sums were once ascertained, there was no Redress to be had. Many of them, during the collecting of the Money, were

‖ 3,750,000 *l.* * *April* 8, 1739.
† 125,000 *l.* ‡ 625 *l.* § 1250 *l.*
¶ 15000 *l.*

by bad Usage, forced to dispatch themselves, and Numbers died of the Blows they received; those who came best off, had either a Leg or an Arm lamed; from Morning to Night, nothing was done or thought of, but gathering in this Money, in which no Barbarities were left unpractised. This so dispirited the Inhabitants, that if one *Kuzzlebash* Horseman came among 10000 of them, he might safely use them with all the Severities he pleased. This Work went on until the Day *Nadir Shah* left the City, when near four *Crore* †, were collected from the People. Three *Crore* ‡, and thirty *Lacks* of *Rupees*, were paid into *Nadir Shah*'s Treasury, and seventy *Lacks* ‖ were made away with among his *Omras*, and some expended among the 1000 Horsemen; a great deal was sunk in the undervaluing of Goods, for a Horse worth 500 *Rupees* *, was only rated at 5 *Tomans* †, which is 100 *Rupees*, and *Shauls* of 50 *Rupees* § taken at one *Toman*, or twenty *Rupees* ‖, and Jewels and other Goods,

† 5,000,000 *l.* ‡ 4,125,000 *l.*
‖ 875000 *l.* * 62 *l.* 10 *s.*
† 12 *l.* 10 *s.* § 6 *l.* 5 *s.*
‖ 2 *l.* 10 *s.*

in

in the ſame Proportion: What the *Shah* took was valued in this Manner, and received for ſo much in the Contribution Account; but what he had no Occaſion for was ſold, and the Produce brought to Account, which was no Advantage to the Owners of the Goods, as there were no Buyers but the *Kuzzlebaſh*.

Since the Day of the general Slaughter, wherever any Granaries were, the *Kuzzlebaſh* ſeized them; this and the Roads being ſtopt to all Quarters made Wheat 2 *Seers* a *Rupee*, Rice $1\frac{1}{2}$ *Seer*, and *Ghee* $1\frac{1}{2}$ *Seer*: Things were at that Rate for about twenty Days; at laſt, *Sirbullind Khan* and *Azim Allah Khan*, having obtained a Paſs and Licence, ſent ſeveral Waggons to fetch Corn from *Feridabad*. Whoever had any Carriages, ſent them, ſeveral of the poor People and *Banians* going along with them.

In a little Time Wheat was ſold ſeven *Seers* for a *Rupee*, but no more Rice than $2\frac{1}{2}$ *Seers*, and *Ghee* $\frac{2}{3}$ of a *Seer*; during this Time the *Kuzzlebaſh* Horſemen were wont to go round about *Feridabad*, and other Places, marrauding twenty and thirty Coſs each Way, ſpoiling all the Fields, and plundering all the Villages as they went, and killing the

Inhabitants that made any Resistance. They gave their Horses, Camels, *&c.* Barley and Wheat-Straw instead of Grass, and the People of the City could have neither at any Rate, so that most of their Cattle died.

The latter End of *Mohirrim**, *Danishmund Khan* (whose Brother *Mullah Ali Akbar*, was the *Shah's Mullah Bashi*) was, by *Nadir Shah*'s Recommendation, raised to the *Mansub* of 7000, with its full *Jaguir*, besides the Post of *Mahommed Shah*'s *Khan Saman* §; but a few Days after *Nadir Shah*'s Departure he fell sick, and on the 14th of *Ribby al Avul* † departed this Life. Excepting him, *Nadir Shah* recommended none else to the Emperor.

On *Tuesday* the 3d *Safer* ‡, all the *Omras* were ordered by *Nadir Shah* to be present at *Mahommed Shah*'s by five o' Clock in the Morning, where they put on forty-two *Khalaets*, sent thither by *Nadir Shah* for them. The *Khalaets* for *Nizam al Muluck*, *Sirbullind Khan*, *Kummir o' din Khan*, and *Mahommed Khan Bungush*, were:

* The latter End of *April*.

§ *Khan Saman*, Steward of the Houshold.

† The 10th of *June*, 1739.

‡ The 1st of *May*, 1739.

A rich

A rich Atlas Vest.
A Hunting Coat, of a rich Stuff wove with Gold.
Four Yards of Tissue.
A rich Mandil or Turban.
A *Persian* Sabre mounted with Gold.
A Knife with a Sheath of enamell'd Gold.

The rest of the *Khalaets* were different, some had five Pieces, some four, three and two, and some had only one Piece of Gold, or one Piece of Silver Stuff, according to the Rank they bore.

About eight in the Morning, *Mahommed Shah*, seated in a Royal Litter, with a Canopy, Umbrella, and one led Litter, with several of the *Omras*, went towards the General *Divan*, the *Omras* being mounted at a small Distance behind him; when they came near the General *Divan*, the Emperor ordered *Saad o' din Khan* to let none but the Head *Omras*, and a few of the Chief *Mansubdârs* to go further. At the Door of the General *Divan* all the *Omras* alighted, and followed on Foot to the Door of the private *Divan*, where *Nadir Shah* was; there the Emperor came off his Royal Litter, and went in;

in; after they had mutually embraced, they breakfasted together, and the *Omras* likewise had Breakfast given them. A little after, the following Things were brought in for *Mahimmed Shah*:

A Crown set with Jewels.
A *Sirpeach* ‖ - - - Ditto.
A *Bazoubund* * - - Ditto.
A Girdle - - - Ditto.
A Sword, the Handle set with Jewels.
A Sword with a straight Blade, such as most of the *Deccanners* use, called *Dhoup*.
An enamelled *Cuttarri*.

The Crown, *Nadir Shah* put on with his own Hands, making him an Apology at the same Time. After giving him some Advice, he took Leave of him. The Substance of the Advice was as follows: 'In the first 'Place, you must seize all the *Omra's Ja-'guîrs*, and pay each of them according to 'their *Mansubs* and Rank, with ready Mo-'ney, out of the Treasury. You are to allow none to keep any Forces of his own,

‖ *Sirpeach* is a Band or Fillet richly wove, and sometimes set with Jewels, which is worn round the *Turban*.
* *Bazoubund* is a Bracelet.

but

'but you yourself are constantly to keep
'60000 chosen Horsemen, at sixty *Rupees*
'*per* Month, one with another: Every ten
'Men to have one *Dehbashi* †, every ten
'*Dehbashi's* one *Sudival* ‡, and every ten
'*Sudivals* one *Hazarri* ‖. You ought to be
'well acquainted with the Merits of each,
'their Name, their Family and Nation,
'not allowing any of them, Officers, Sol-
'diers, or others, to be idle or inactive,
'When an Occasion may require, detach
'a sufficient Number, under the Command
'of one, whom you can trust for Conduct,
'Courage, and Fidelity, and when that
'Business is over, recall them immediately,
'not letting any Person stay too long in Com-
'mand, for Fear of bad Consequences. You
'are more particularly to beware of *Nizam*
'*al Mulock*, whom, by his Conduct, I find
'to be full of Canning, and Self-interested,
'and more ambitious than becomes a Subject.'
Mahommed Shah knowing these Advices pro-
ceeded from Good-will, was very thankful,
and desired him, as his Empire depended on

† *Dehbashi*, an Officer over Ten Men.
‡ *Sudival*, an Officer over a Hundred.
‖ *Hazarri*, a Captain of a Thousand.

him,

him, that he would appoint those whom he thought most deserving of the principal Posts. *Nadir Shah* said, 'That will not be 'at all for your Interest; such Officers will 'have little Deference for you in my Absence; when I am gone, dispose of every 'Post to those whom you think most worthy, 'and should they or any of them rebel, 'upon the first Advice, I'll send a Person to 'chastise them; if it be necessary, I'll send 'Forces; or, on Occasion, I can be with 'you myself, in forty Days, from *Kandahar*; 'But upon all Events don't reckon me far 'off.

After this, *Mahommed Shah* taking Leave, returned back to *Aeysh Mehl*, from whence, he gave the *Omras* leave to go Home.

On *Wednesday* the 4th *, *Nadir Shah*, sent for *Nizam al Muluck*, *Sirbullind Khan*, and the other *Omras*, and having enjoined them Obedience to *Mahommed Shah*, and threatned them in Case of their rebelling, took his Leave.

It was reported that *Nadir Shah* declared before some of his *Omras*, such as *Thamas Khan*, *Loutf Ali Khan*, and others, that he

* The 2d of *May*, 1739.

had

had acted indiscreetly in regard to two Things; one was his giving the Empire to *Mahommed Shah*, who being unequal to so great a Task, the Affairs of *India* would become worse than formerly, the other, his giving Quarter to *Nizam al Muluck*, who being so very subtle and crafty, it was more than probable he would raise Disturbances; but as according to the Decrees of Providence, and the Assistance of their own good Fortune, he had once passed his Word to them, he could not act contrary thereto.

On *Friday* the 6th †, the *Shah*'s ‡ *Peishkhanna* went to *Shalimâr*. A *Munaddi* went about to give Notice, that after the Troops should begin to march, none of the *Kuzzlebash*, or others belonging to the Army, should tarry in the City, and forbid any Person to entertain or conceal any such in their Houses, and that none belonging to the Army should carry along with them any Male or Female

† The 4th of *May*, 1739.

‡ *Nadir Shah*'s March was to have been the 27th *Mohirrim*, but was delayed, on Account of *Fojdar Khan Balouche*'s running away with his Men towards the *Rajahs*, on being demanded more than one *Lack* of *Rupees*, which he was first taxed with.

Captives, excepting Slaves bought with ready Money with a Writing from the Seller attested by Witnesses declaring his Consent and Satisfaction, or Women lawfully married to them, and even those Slaves and Wives not to be carried away if in the least contrary to their own Inclinations; and that whoever should transgress any of these Orders should forfeit both his Life and Estate.

Upon this almost all who were married in *Dehli* sent back their Wives on finding them unwilling to leave their Native Country, only a few of the Chief Commanders and Officers, by the mildest Means and Intreaties, prevailed on some to seem contented to go; which *Nadir Shah*, after some Days March, being informed of, he ordered them all to be immediately sent back.

On *Saturday* the 7th §, *Nadir Shah* moved to *Shalimâr*, and gave positive Orders, that all the Soldiers should quit the City that Day.

On *Sunday* *, before his March from these Gardens, he ordered his Army to be mustered; and it was reported to him, that

§ *May* 5, 1739.
* *May* 6, 1739.

400 Soldiers and Servants had deserted. The *Shah* ordered *Scidy Folad Khan*, the *Cutual*, to find out those People, and send them with a Guard to the Army, and commanded several of the *Nissikhchis* and *Rîhas* likewise to assist. The *Cutual*, after great Search, found about sixty, and sent them away with a Party of his own Horse and some *Nissikhchis*; they reached the Army near *Serhind*, where the *Shah* ordered all their Heads to be cut off.

In the mean Time, *Scidy Folad Khan*, having seized several more of those Deserters, he was going to send them also; but on hearing how the others were treated, he waited on the Emperor, and represented the Matter to him. *Mahommed Shah* said: 'He'll certainly kill these poor Wretches also, if they are sent; why should we be accessary to so much innocent Blood? Let them go wherever they please.'

Nadir Shah, by continual Marches, arrived near *Lahor*, and we are informed, that he plundered and killed the People of *Tanniser*, and several other Villages. The Occasion of which was thus: The Army constantly sending out Parties to forage, and bring Corn and other Necessaries; the

Country People, who used to watch their Opportunities, attacked the Stragglers, and killed and plundered them of their Horses, or what else they had; in the Night-time also they were very troublesome, and stole whatever they could come at, which very much inraged the *Shah*, having lost above a thousand Mules, Camels and *Yabous* before he got as far as *Lahor*. It was reported, that *Nadir Shah*, having called the *Zemidar* of *Karnal* (which is the Place where he got his Victory) gave him 5000 *Rupees* towards peopling a Village on the same Spot he incamped, and directed him to give it the Name of *Fattehabad* ‖.

Some Days before he left *Dehli*, he sent Part of his Army before to *Lahor*; when they approached the Place, and *Zekaria Khan* was apprized thereof, he called together all the great Men, Merchants, *Serafs**, and wealthy People of the City. At their Meeting it was agreed, that the *Khan* and they should go out of the City, and send a Message to the Commanding Officer, in these

‖ فتح اباد *Fatteh abad*, signifies the *Habitation of Victory*.

* Bankers and Money Changers.

Words:

Words: 'If your Design be to slaughter the 'Inhabitants, Lo! we are here present; if 'Plunder be your Intent, the City is deserted, and our Effects left there; or, if Money be what you want, the *Soubahdar* and 'Citizens can raise no more than one *Crore* †; 'so whatsoever your Intentions or Orders are, 'that execute: This is a small City, and 'not able to withstand the Fury of an Army, 'as *Dehli* is.' On Receipt of this Message, the Commanding Officer thought proper to represent the Affair to his Master, who ordered him to receive the *Crore* of *Rupees*, and to molest them no further. After the Payment of the Money, he drew off, and joined the main Army upon their March.

Nadir Shah, by continual and long Marches, passed by *Lahor*, on one Side.

On *Tuesday*, the 10th ‡, *Sirbullind Khan*, having placed Guards about the Castle, commanded as Chief Officer for that Day: Next Day, he was ordered to come off, and to mount Guard only on *Mondays*. After going from the Castle, he went to see *Nizam al Muluck*, who happening to be in *Kummir*

† 1,250,000 *l.*

‡ The 8th of *May*, 1739.

o'din

o'dîn Khan's House, he had an Opportunity of visiting both, and then returned to his own House.

Until this Day, a great many of the Bodies killed on the Day of the general Massacre, lay putrified in some of the Streets and *Bazars*.

On *Thursday*, the 12th ||, in the Morning, *Azîm Allah Khan*, and in the Afternoon, *Kummir o'dîn Khan*, went to visit *Sirbullind Khan*.

On *Sunday*, the 15th *, the Emperor came from *Aeysh Mehl*, to the General *Divan*, where he sat four *Gurris* §, during which Time the *Omras* came to pay their Obeisance, making their Presents at the same Time. *Nizam al Muluck*, on returning from the Castle, went to *Sirbullind Khan*'s House, for since *Nizam al Muluck*'s coming from *Deccan*, until the 11th Instant, neither of them had been to visit each other.

On *Friday*, the 20th †, *Emir Khan* was

|| The 10th of *May*, 1739.
* The 13th of *May*, 1739.
§ One Hour 36 Minutes.
† The 18th of *May*, 1739.

honoured

honoured with a *Sirrapah*, a *Paleki*, with Net-work, and the Office of third *Bukhshi*.

Ishak Khan, with a *Sirrapah*, a *Paleki* with Net Work, and the Office of *Duan Khalesih*‖.

Azîm Allah Khan, with a *Sirrapah*, and the Office of *Sedr*.

Ahtisham Khan, *Khandoran*'s Son, with a *Sirrapah*, and the Office of *Darogha Khass* *.

On the 4th of *Ribby ul Avul* †, *Danishmund Khan*, who, by *Nadir Shah*'s Recommendation, had got the Office of *Khan Saman*, departed this Life. So, on the 16th ‡, *Saad o'dîn Khan*, received a *Sirrapah*, and was promoted to that Office.

From the Day that *Nadir Shah* left *Dehli*, until this, which is the 26th of *Ribby al Avul*‖, nothing was done or proposed, in Regard to the State of Affairs in the Empire. Even this Blow, which is sufficient to give an Idea of the Trumpet of the Day of Judgment,

‡ The Third Paymaster.

‖ *Duan Khalesih*, the Accomptant General of the King's Revenues.

* *Darogha Khass*, Superintendant of the Houshold.

† The 10th of *June*, 1739.

‡ The 12th of *June*, 1739.

‖ The 22d of *June*, 1739.

ment, could not in the least awaken out of the heavy Sleep of Security, and Lethargy of Indolence, those People, who were so much intoxicated with the Wine of Pride, and Self-conceit. They all agreed in a general ill-will to each other, and their whole Talk and Conversation was full of Envy and Detraction.

Of the Bulidings that were in Part demolished, and damaged; in the Day of the general Massacre, some that suffered least, are inhabited again, and the rest remain desart; which, if not begun to be repaired before the Rains set in, will be quite destroyed.

The Inhabitants, from the Terror of this Calamity, like People possess'd, and in Fits, are quite stupified, and not yet come to themselves, and what is still more strange, (notwithstanding the Oppressions and Disgrace, the People of this Empire have met with, since *Nadir Shah*'s Departure) the indecent Expressions, and beastly Actions of his Soldiers, are the constant Subjects of Discourse, in all Companies, related with a seeming Satisfaction and Pleasure, and by Way of Jest and Drollery; not being in the least affected with a Reflection on

their

tho' past Disgrace and Misfortunes; but, on the contary, seemed sorry for his going away, excepting *Sirbullind Khan*, who three Years ago, foresaw this Calamity, and retired from public Business, dreading the Consequence of Affairs being managed by such Men as then bore Sway: His being an Instrument in collecting the *Peishcush* was involuntary, and much contrary to his Inclinations, in which he help'd and favoured several People as much as lay in his Power, and that in so private a Manner, that they themselves knew not who assisted them: But hypocritical and ignorant Persons, who had neither Will or Power to assist those People, gave their Tongues too much Liberty in complaining of him: However, I refer this innocent Man's Character to the following *Arabic* Verses:

They say for certain that God has a Son,
And say for certain the Prophet is a Magician;
Neither God nor his Prophet has escaped
The Tongues of Slanderers, and how shall I?

When after the Battle, *Nadir Shah* had sent for *Mahommed Shah* and his *Boungah* to his Camp, one of his *Omras* represented to him, that in the *Hindostan* Camp there were 100,000 Horses and a great many Camels, and as these People had, by his Clemency, received Quarter, should he order what Camels and Horses were fit for the Royal Stables to be seized for his Use, it would not be so great a Hardship upon them. To which the *Shah* answered: 'I have given these People Quarter in all Respects; besides, the 'Bread of Soldiers depends on their Horses, 'most of them are in wretched and indigent 'Circumstances; should they lose their Horses, 'they and their Families would be reduced 'to Beggary and Starving. It would be far 'from Humanity to treat them ill; now they 'are at our Mercy; therefore don't molest 'or insult them on any Account.

Mahommed Khan Bungush had, for a long Time, been in Expectation of the *Soubahdari* of *Alehabad*, especially after *Nadir Shah*'s Departure; but not finding he was likely to succeed, on the 27th of *Safer**, he made off, and went towards his own *Zemidari*. In his

* The 25th of *May*, 1739.

Way

Way he plundered several Villages, and meeting the *Vanjarras* †, who were carrying Corn to *Shahjehanabad*, carried them along with him.

After some Days, *Ali Hamed Khan*, *Ali* [illegible] *Ali Asghur Khan*, *Khan Zu-* [illegible] *Nerab Ali Khan*, *Azem Khan*, [illegible] others, in all twenty-two *Omras* and *Mansubdars*, who had run away out of the Field of Battle and Camp, as also *Mahommed Khan Bunguſh*, who (without Leave) had retired Home, were all diſcharged the Service.

Nizam al Muluck and *Kummir o'din Khan* wrote to *Mahommed Khan*, that if he came back, or ſent his Son to attend at Court, it was probable his *Manſub* and *Jagir* ſhould ſtill be continued to him, if not, he muſt expect no Favour. *Mahommed Khan* returned for Anſwer: 'If my Requeſt is complied 'with, I will come, if not, I will go on to 'my own *Zemidari*.

Since the Battle of *Karnal*, until *Nadir Shah*'s Departure from *Shahjehanabad*, the Loſs ſuſtained by the Emperor and the People

† People who go a Trading in great Droves, and carry their Goods on Oxen

within and without the City, in Jewels, Treasure, Goods, Effects, and destroying of Fields, setting aside the Loss of the Buildings, amounted to very near one *Arrib* ‡ of *Rupees*, out of which *Nadir Shah* carried away to the Value of 50 *Crores* ‖ in Jewels and [illegible] fects, and his Officers and Soldiers [illegible] The Charges of his Army, while he [illegible] nued there, the Arrears, Pay and Gratu[illegible] advanced them, with what Goods were destroyed by Fire, and Fields laid waste, made near 20 *Crores* † more.

The Particulars of what *Nadir Shah* carried away with him;

	Crore.
Jewels from the Emperor and *Omras*, valued at - - -	25
Utensils and Handles of Weapons set with Jewels, with the *Peacock* Throne, and nine others set with precious Stones	9
Money Coined in Gold and Silver *Rupees* - - -	25
Gold and Silver Plate which he melted down and coin'd - -	5
	64

‡ 125,000,000 *l.* ‖ 87,500,000 *l.*
* 12,500,000 *l.* † 25,000,000 *l.*

Fine

Carried over	64
Fine Cloths and rich Stuffs of all Kinds - - -	2
Houshold Furniture, and other valuable Commodities -	3
Warlike Weapons, Cannon, &c.	1
	70

Elephants 1000, Horses 70000, Camels 10,000, Eunuchs 100, Writers 130, Smiths 200, Masons or Builders 300, Stone-Cutters 100, Carpenters 200.

Nadir Shah had the Draught of the Castle and City of *Shahjehanabad* taken, and gave to the abovementioned Artificers, Horses, and what other Carriages were necessary for their Journey, allowing them a sufficient Pay. The Terms he entered into with them were, to follow their several Occupations for three Years in *Kandahar*; at the Expiration of which, they were to have Liberty, either to return Home or continue there. But in their Way to *Lahor*, several of them made their Escape, and returned hither.

Since *Nadir Shah*'s entering this Country, until his getting to *Lahor* in his March back,

200,000

200,000 of the Inhabitants of this Empire, were destroyed, as follows:

From *Lahor* to *Karnal* were killed on the Roads and in the Villages	8000.
Killed in the Battle of *Karnal*	17,000.
Those killed during the Space of three Days after the Battle, in the Highways and round about the Camp, were	14,000
Those killed on their March to the City, in *Sonput*, *Paniput*, and other Villages that were plundered	7000.
Those killed in the general Massacre, by the exactest Computation	110,000.
After the general Massacre were killed in *Rouh Allah Khan's Serai*, and the Villages and Fields round about where they went a marauding, which is about Thirty Cos each Way	25,000.
On their March back, in *Tanisseer* and other Villages	12,000.
Those who had laid violent Hands upon themselves, the Women who drown'd and burnt them-	
	193,000

selves,

Carried over 193,000

selves, as also those who died of Famine and other Hardships, amounted to about 7000

200,000.

A Translation of the Cession made by Mahommed Shah to Nadir Shah *of all the Territories to the Westward of the River* Attok.

‘ FOrmerly, the Ministers † of his High ‘ Majesty (who is exalted like *Saturn*‖, ‘ fierce as *Mars* *, impetuous as the God of ‘ War, King of the Kings of the Earth, ‘ Prince of the Princes of the Age, the Sha- ‘ dow of God and Refuge of *Islâm*, in Pomp ‘ like *Alexander*, the Heavens his Court, the ‘ *Sultan* who is merciful, and the Emperor ‘ who is august, *Nadir* (may God per- ‘ petuate his Reign) had sent Ambassadors

† In the *East* it is not polite to say to a Prince, he did or said such a Thing, but that his Ministers and Servants did it.

‖ *Saturn* being the most remote from the Centre of the System.

* In the Original it is بهرام صولة مريخ سطوة *Beheram Solat, Merikh Suttuvit.* بهرام *Beherama*, in the ancient *Persic*, signifies *Mars*, and مريخ *Merikh*, in the *Arabic* signifies the same.

to

'to this Court, to treat of certain Affairs
'which I intended to comply with; after-
'wards *Mahommed Khan Turcoman* arrived
'from *Kandahar*, to remind me thereof,
'but my Ministers and Agents having delay-
'ed the Ambassadors, and postponed an An-
'swer to his High Majesty's Letter, raised
'such a Misunderstanding between us, that
'his successful Army having come to the
'Confines of *Hindostan*, both Parties encoun-
'tered in the Fields of *Karnal*, where, after
'a Royal Battle was fought, as Providence
'would have it, Victory to Appearance rose
'from the East of his undeclining Fortune.
'As his High Majesty, who is mighty as
'*Jumsheid*[1], and the greatest of the *Tur-*
'*comans*, is the Source of Goodness and
'Prowess; relying on his Honour, and
'trusting to his Support, I had the Satisfaction
'of an Interview, and enjoyed the Pleasure
'of being entertained in his Paradise-like Com-
'pany. After which, we came together to
'*Shajehanabad*, where I brought forth to his
'View, and with the proper Ceremony pre-
'sented to him, all the Treasure, Jewels,

[1] One of the ancient Kings of *Persia*, remarkable for his Greatness and Power.

and

and precious Effects of the *Hindostan* Emperors; his Majesty, in Compliance with my Request, accepted of some: And out of the Greatness of his Soul, and abundant Humanity, in Regard to the illustrious Family of *Gourgan*, and the Honour of the Original Tree of *Turkan*, was graciously pleased to restore to me the Crown and Gem of *Hindostan*.

'In Consideration of this Favour, which no Father shows to a Son, nor no Brother to a Brother, I make over to him all the Countries to the West of the River *Attok*, the Water of *Scind*, and *Nala Sunkra* which is a Branch of the Water of *Scind*: That is to say, *Peishor* with its Territories, the Principality of *Cabul*, *Gooznavi*, the mountainous Residences of the *Afghans*, the *Hazarijat* and the Passes, with the Castle of *Buckar*, *Sunkar*, and *Khoudabad*. The rest of the Territories, Passes, and Abodes of the *Chokias*, *Balluches*, &c. with the Province of *Tatta*, the Castle of *Ram*, and the Village of *Terbin*, the Towns of *Chun*, *Sumawali* and *Ketra*, &c. Places dependant on *Tatta*. All their Fields, Villages, Castles, Towns, and Ports from the first

'Rise of the River *Attok*, with all the Passes
'and Habitations, which the abovesaid Water
'and its several Branches comprehends and
'surrounds, as far as *Nala Sunkra*, where it
'empties itself into the Sea: In short, all
'Places Westward of the River *Attok*, and
'those Parts, and Westward of the River
'*Scind*, and *Nala Sunkra*, I have annexed
'to the Dominions of that powerful Sove-
'reign, that from henceforth his Agents and
'Servants may enter upon and set about the
'Management and the securing of the above-
'said Territories, taking the Government
'and Command of those several Places,
'Tribes and Inhabitants into their own
'Hands; my Officers, Servants, &c. eva-
'cuating the abovesaid Places, as being seve-
'red from my Dominions, and entirely re-
'nouncing all Right they have or might for-
'merly have had to command, controul or
'collect any Revenues there; the Castle and
'Town of *Lorry Bundar*, with all the
'Countries to the East of the River *Attok*.
'Water of *Scina*, and *Nala Sunkra*, shall, as
'formerly, belong to the Empire of *Hin-*
'*dostan*. Dated at *Shajehanabad*, the 4th of
'*Mohirrim* ‡, 1152.

‡ The 2d of *April*, 173[illegible].

A Per-

A Personal Description and Character of Nadir Shah, *which I had from the Gentleman who favoured me with the Account of his Exploits before his Expedition to* India.

NADIR SHAH is about fifty-five Years, upwards of six Foot high, well-proportion'd, of a very robust Make and Constitution, his Complexion sanguine and inclining to be fat, but the Fatigue he undergoes prevents it; he has fine large Black-eyes and Eye-brows; and, in short, is one of the most comely Men I ever beheld. The Injury the Sun and Weather have done to his Complexion only gives him a more manly Aspect. His Voice is so uncommonly loud and strong, that he frequently, and without straining it, gives Orders to his People at above a hundred Yards Distance. He drinks Wine with Moderation, but is extremely addicted to Women, in which he affects great Variety, and yet never neglects his Business on their Account; his

Hours of Retirement among the Ladies are but few, seldom entering their Apartments before Eleven or Twelve at Night, and is up and in Public by Five in the Morning. His Diet is simple, chiefly Pillaw and plain Dishes; and, if public Affairs require his Attendance, he neglects his Meals, and satisfies his Hunger with a few parched Pease (of which he always carries some in his Pockets) and a Draught of Water. In the Camp, or in the City, he is almost constantly in Public, and if not, he may be sent to, or spoke with by any Person. He musters, pays and cloaths his Army himself, and will not suffer any Perquisites to be taken from the Soldiers by his Officers, on any Pretence whatever. He has Monthly Accounts transmitted to him of the State of Affairs in all Parts of his Dominions, and holds a Correspondence with his several private Spies in every Place: Besides, in every Province and City there is a Person called *Hum Calâm*, appointed to inspect into the Governor's Actions, and keep a Register of them; no Affair of any Consequence can be transacted but in the Presence of that Officer, who, besides the Accounts the Governor is obliged to send

Monthly,

Monthly, transmits his Journal by a separate Conveyance whenever he thinks proper, without permitting the Governor to peruse it; he has no settled Salary or Gratuity for his Trouble, but is rewarded or punished just as *Nadir Shah* finds he deserves. This extraordinary Caution in a great Measure prevents the Governor's oppressing the People, or entering into any Conspiracies or Rebellions against him. He is extremely generous, particularly to his Soldiers, and bountifully rewards all in his Service, who behave well. He is, at the same Time, very severe and strict in his Discipline, punishing with Death those who commit a great Offence; and with the Loss of their Ears, those whose Transgressions are of a slighter Nature; he never pardons the Guilty of what Rank soever, and is highly displeased, if, after he has throughly examined the Affair, any Person presumes to intercede in their Behalf, before which, they may give their Sentiments with Freedom.

When on a March, or in the Field, he contents himself to eat, drink, and sleep like a common Soldier, and enures all his Officers to the same severe Discipline. He is of so hardy a Con-

a Constitution, that he has been often known of a frosty Night to repose himself upon the Ground in the open Air, wrapt up in his Cloak, with only a Saddle for his Pillow, especially when, upon an extraordinary Enterprize which required Expedition, he has been obliged to out-march his Baggage, by which Means he has fallen upon the Enemy when they least expected him. He is never happy but when in the Field, and laments the Time he is obliged to stay in a City to refresh his Troops, in which (as in all Things else) he uses the utmost Dispatch. His Meals are over in less than Half an Hour, after which he returns to Business; so that the Servants who attend him standing are changed three or four Times a Day. He never indulges himself in any Kind of Pleasure in the Day-time, but constantly at Sun-set retires to a private Apartment, where, unbending himself at once from Business, he sups with three or four Favourites, and drinks a Quart, or at most three Pints of Wine, behaving all the Time in the freest and most facetious Manner. In this private Conversation no Person is allowed to mention any Thing relating to public Business; nor, at other Times, must

they

they presume, upon this Intimacy to behave with more Familiarity than their Equals. Two of his Evening-Companions happening to transgress in that Point, by taking the Liberty to advise him in Public, he immediately ordered them to be strangled, saying: 'Such Fools were not fit to live, who could 'not distinguish between *Nadir Shah* and '*Nadir Kuli*.' He has been very kind to those who please him in private Conversation, and behave with a becoming Decency and Deference in Public, where they are taken no more Notice of, nor have they any more Influence over him than others of the same Rank.

His Mother, who was living in the Year 1737, (at the Request of some who were attached to the Royal Family) intreated *Nadir Shah*, some Time after he had seized the King, to restore him, not doubting but his Majesty would make him sufficient Amends, by creating him *Generalissimo* for Life. He ask'd her 'whether she really thought so?' She told him, 'She did.' Upon which he smil'd and said, 'If I was an old Woman, 'perhaps I might be inclined to think so too, 'and desire her to give herself no Trouble 'about State Affairs.'

He

He was married to *Shah Thamas's* Aunt, the youngest Sister of *Shah Sultan Hussein*, by whom, I heard, he had one Daughter. He has several young Children by his Concubines, and two Sons by a Woman he married in his Obscurity. The Eldest, *Reza Kuli Mirza*, is about twenty-five Years of Age. He was trained up from his Childhood in the Army, where from a *Subaltern* he has been gradually advanced to the Rank of a General, and appointed Vice-Roy of *Persia*, during his Father's Expedition to *India*. The second Son *Nesr Allah Mirza*, who is about twenty-one Years of Age, is nominal Governor of *Musshad* and the Province of *Khorasan*, having a Person to direct and manage for him.

His eldest Son, when he ranked as a Lieutenant, had only that Pay to subsist on, and in all other Stations had no more than his Commission entitled him to. His Father regarded him no more than he did the other Officers, and permitted him to associate with them, giving him to know, that if he was guilty of any Crime or Breach of Duty, he should be punished with as great Rigour as any of the rest. On his behaving well he not only promoted him, but increased his Paternal

ternal Affection for him. Those who knew the young Man (for I never saw him) judge he'll make full as great a Figure in the World as his Father; having given signal Proofs of his Courage and Conduct in several Battles, and of his great Abilities in other Respects while *Nadir Shah* was in *India*. By my private Advices from thence I'm inform'd, that he govern'd the Empire with great Skill, and kept every Thing quiet and easy until his Father's Return.

Among *Nadir Shah*'s extraordinary Faculties, his Memory is not the least to be admired, there being few Things of Moment that he ever said or did, but what he remembers; and can readily call all the principal Officers in his numerous Army by their Names. He knows most of the private Men who have served under him any Time, and can recollect when and for what he punished and rewarded any of them. He dictates to one or two Secretaries, and gives Orders about other Affairs at the same Time, with all the Regularity and Promptness imaginable.

In Time of Action, I'm told he is equally surprising, it being scarce credible how quick he is in discerning the Odds on either Side, and

and how ad[illegible] succouring his Troops. If any of his General Officers give Ground without being greatly over-powered, he rides up and kills him with a Battle-ax (which he always carries in his Hand) and then gives the Command to the next in Rank. [illegible] all the Battles, Skirmishes, and Sieges he has been engaged in (altho' he generally charges at the Head of his Troops) he never received the least Wound or Scar, and yet several Horses have been shot under him, and Bullets have grazed on his Armour.

I could relate many other remarkable Things that I have seen and heard of this great Hero, whose Actions already are sufficient to convince the World, that few Ages have produced his Equal. As he has performed such Wonders when he had hardly Money or Men, what may we not expect from him now he is possess'd of so immense a Treasure? 'Tis probable he may live thirty Years longer; and in that Space of Time, if his Designs are attended with the same Success he has hitherto met with, to what Pitch of Grandeur may not a Man of his unbounded Ambition and Courage arrive at?

AN IN-

AN

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CATALOGUE

OF

MANUSCRIPTS,

IN THE

Persic, *Arabic*, and *Sanskerrit*

LANGUAGES.

Collected in the East by

JAMES FRASER.

LONDON:

Printed by W. STRAHAN, in the Year

M.DCC.XLII.

A

CATALOGUE

OF

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DUAN KHOSRO. In Four Vols. A Book greatly esteemed in the *East*. It is on the Subjects of Divinity and Love; wrote in a Spiritual Strain, and is generally sung to Musick.

TOHFIT *al Irakain*; which is also one of the Books of *Kuliât Khacani*. It is a beautiful Poetic Description of several Rivers and Places, in *Persia*, *Diarbecr*, (or *Mesopotamia*) and *Arabia*.

Isof Zulikha, or the Loves of *Joseph* and *Potiphar*'s Wife. It is also comprehended in [illegible] Twenty One Books of *Kuliât Jami*.

Delsowz nama. } Are both Poems on the Subject
Hal nama. } of Love.

Duan Hafez. The Poems of *Mahommed Shums o'dîn Hafez al Shirazi*. They are wrote in a sublime Stile, and a little mysterious. They are used in the *East*, as the *Sortes Virgilianæ* in *Europe*, and much credited on that Score.

SECAN-

SECANDER NAMA. The History and Actions of *Alexander* the Great. Composed by *Nizami*, in Verse.

SECANDER NAMA BEHRI. Ditto, more compendious, by another Hand.

METHNUVI *Manivi Moluvi*. By *Mahommed ben Mahommed ben al Hossein al Balkhi*, afterwards *al Roumi*. This Book, which is in great Esteem among the *Mahommedans*, is entirely on the Subject of Religion and Moral Duties.

KHOSRO SHÎRÎN. By *Nizami*. A Poem; celebrating the Loves of *Khosro* King of *Persia*, and his beautiful Mistress *Shirin*.

NITEEJIH *al Tabbeh*.

SAKI NAMA *Zihouri*.

Khlassih BOSTAN. An Extract of *Sadi's Bostan*.

DUAN *Anvirri*. Being the Works of the famous Poet *Anvirri*.

DUAN *Peerzadi*.

BIRZOU NAMA.

KUSSAYD KELÎM.

TEMOUR NAMA. The History and Actions of *Temour*, in Verse. Dedicated to *Shah Thamas*.

KUDDRIT AL AÇAR *Ghazali Mushaddi*.

NUKHSH BIDDEEIH. Ditto. Ditto.

BEHR AL ABRAR. By *Hashmi Tatari.*

HIDÎKA *Hakîm Sinai.*

NOZHIT *al-Arifah.* With an Explanation, by *Abdal Wahed Ibrahim.*

ETHICS, POLITICS, NOVELS, *&c.*

LUVAMEH *al Ashrack fi Mokarem al Akhlack.* By *Jani Mahommed ebn Assaad Duani*, and dedicated to *Sultan Hossan Beg, Bahadr Khan.* It is a Treatise of Moral Philosophy, containing Rules and Directions for tempering the Passions and Appetites; each Moral Duty, and vicious Habit, being fully treated of under their distinct Heads.

This Book is divided into Three Sections. The First of which considers Man in Regard to his own Person singly, as a Member of Society, and what Duties are incumbent on him. In the Second, he is considered as the Head of a Family, and Rules laid down for his Management, in Regard to each of those whom he has under his immediate Care. In the Third, he is considered as Head or Ruler of a Society or Kingdom, and Directions laid down for his Government in that State. Towards the latter End are annex'd, *Plato*'s Instructions to *Aristotle*; containing sundry excellent Advices: As also a Translation of the *Secret of Secrets*, or *Aristotle*'s Instructions to *Alexander* the Great, regarding his Conduct in *Persia*, which, by Order of the *Khalif Maimûn*, was translated from the Original *Greek* into *Arabic.*

AKHLAK *Nasri.* A Treatise on the same Subject, and disposed in the same Order, by *Nasr o' din*

o' din Mahommed ben Mahommed ben Hossan al Tousi.

DESTOUR *al Vizra.* The whole Duty of a *Vizir*, with proper Rules and Directions for his Management, in Regard to all Ranks of People, from his King to the meanest Subject. It is dedicated to *Emir Fakher o' din ben Hossan.*

AKHLACK *al Mohossinin.* By *Moula Hossan ben Ali al Kashfi*, and dedicated to *Sultan Hossein.*

A Treatise of Ethics, much esteem'd in the *East.* Divided into Forty Chapters, each treating of a different Head. The whole interspersed with pleasant and improving Narratives, adapted to the Subject.

AYAR *Danish.* The History of which Book is thus. The ancient *Brahmins* of *India*, after a great deal of Time and Labour, compiled a Treatise, (which they called *Kurtuk Dumnik*) in which were inserted the choicest Treasures of Wisdom, and the perfectest Rules for governing a People. This Book they presented to their *Rajahs*, who kept it with the greatest Secresy and Care. About the Time of *Mahommed*'s Birth, or the latter End of the VIth Century, *Noishervan* the Just, who then reign'd in *Persia*, discovered a great Inclination to see that Book: For which Purpose, one *Burzuvia*, a Physician, who had a surprising Talent in learning several Languages, particularly the *Sanskerrit*, was introduced to him, as the properest Person to be employed to get a Copy thereof. He went to *India*, where, after some Years Stay, and great Trouble, he procured it. It was translated into the *Pehluvi* Language by him, and *Bazrjumehr* the *Vizir*. *Noishervan* ever after, and all his Successors the *Persian* Kings, had this Book in

in high Esteem, and took the greatest Care to keep it secret. At last, *Abu Jaffer Munsour Zu Nikky*, who was the Second *Khalif* of the *Abassi* Race, by great Search, got a Copy thereof in the *Pehlewi* Language, and ordered *Imâm Hossan Abdal Mokaffa*, who was the most Learned of that Age, to translate it into *Arabic*. This Prince, ever after, made it his Guide, not only in Affairs relating to the Government, but in private Life also.

In the Year 380 of the *Hegira* *Sultan Mahmud Ghazi* put it into Verse. And afterwards, in the Year 515, by Order of *Bheram Shah ben Massaud*, that which *Abdel Mokaffa* had translated, was re-translated into *Persic*, by *Abul Mala Nasser allah Mustofi*; and this is that *Kulila Dumna*, which is now extant. As this latter had too many *Arabic* Verses, and obsolete Phrases in it; *Molana Ali ben Hossein Vaez*, at the Request of *Emir Soheli*, Keeper of the Seals to *Sultan Hossein Mirza*, put it into a more modern Stile, and gave it the Title of *Anuar Soheli*.

In the Year 1002, the Great *Moghol Jilal o'din Mahommed Akbar* ordered his own Secretary and *Vizir*, the Learned *Abul Fazl*, to illustrate the obscure Passages, abridge the long Digressions, and put it into such a Stile as would be most familiar to all Capacities; which he accordingly did, and gave it the Name of *Ayar Danish*, or the Criterion of Wisdom.

ANUAR *Soheli*. An Edition of the same Book, wrote in *Sultan Hossein*'s Time.

KULILA DUMNA. The Edition wrote in 515, by *Bheram Shah*'s Order.

AÇAR *Asmutt*, or the Vestiges of Chastity. A Novel. In which the Author has given the Character of a virtuous chaste Woman.

TOUTI NAMA. By the famous *Nakhshebi*. In this Book, the whole Discourse is feigned to have passed betwixt a Parrot and her Mistress, whose Husband had gone a distant Voyage. In which the artful Tricks and Ingratitude of Women is laid open by a Relation of several curious and surprising Intrigues, which the Parrot relates every Night, in order to divert the Time, and bring on the Morning, to prevent her going to her Gallant, until her Husband's Return.

DOWZD V KAZZI, or the *Thief and the Judge*. Being a Dispute betwixt the *Kazzi* of *Baghdad*, and a Thief, who had laid Hold of him as he was going out to his Country Garden, about an Hour before Day-light. The Thief happens to prove too hard for the *Kazzi*; for he cites more Passages from the *Koran*, to justify his robbing him, than the *Kazzi* can well answer.

MAHAVERAT. Rules and Directions for behaving in Company; with a Relation of several famous Repartees, witty Answers, and inoffensive Jests; with a Collection of Proverbs, and the best Passages out of the most eminent Poets, on the several different Subjects that can happen in Conversation.

NEGARISTAN. By *Mayin Jouini*, in the Time of *Sultan Abouseyd Bahadr Khan*. Dedicated to his *Vizir Mahommed Rischid*. It is wrote in a beautiful Stile. It contains some Hundreds of very pleasant and improving Relations, which are true

true in Fact, and regarding each of the following Heads, *viz.*

I. A virtuous Disposition.
II. Abstinence, and Self-Denial.
III. Humanity towards our Fellow-Creatures.
IV. Love and Friendship.
V. Counsel and Advice.
VI. Greatness of Soul, and Mercy.
VII. The many Advantages arising from the Knowledge of Arts and Sciences.

KESSIH *Kamrosp*. A fine Novel. Wrote by *Hemit Khan ben Islam Khan Alumguiri*.

Tokvim al AKHLACK. A Treatise of Ethics; digested into a very regular Method.

PUND NAMA. A Treatise, containing several good Instructions: By *Shekh Ferid atar*.

ARTS, SCIENCES, &c.

DANISH NAMA *é Jehan*. A Treatise of *Physics*. By *Ghyath o' din Ali ebn Ali Emiran al Hosseini, al Isfahani*. It is divided into Ten Sections, Twenty Divisions, and an Appendix; which treat of the following Subjects.

The Universal Intelligent, and Universal Soul.
The Heavenly Bodies; their Order, the Time and Manner of their Revolutions.
Concerning the Elements.
Concerning a Body.
Of a Simple and Compound Body.
That there is no *Vacuum*.
The Theory of Vapours, Exhalations, Wind, Clouds, Rain, Snow, Hail, Dew, Thunder, Light-

Lightning, falling Stars, Redness of the Sky about the Horizon, several Suns appearing at once, Rain-bows, Halo's, Earthquakes; Sounds, Wind, and Fire, coming out of the Bowels of the Earth; Springs, Fountains, Hills, *&c.*

Produce of all Sorts of Minerals, Stones, *&c.*

Reason of their different Weights, Colours, Tastes, and what Planets govern each.

Vegetables; their Theory, Production.

Account of the Vegetable Soul, and its Faculties.

Production of Brute Animals; Account of their Soul, and its Faculties.

Creation of Man; Account of his Intellectual Soul, Faculties, and his Form.

Account of the Continuance of Production.

The Production of Animals by Generation, the Manner and several Degrees of the Formation of a *Fœtus*, its Position in the Womb, its Birth, and the Causes of Male and Female.

Account of the outward and inward Senses; where they differ in Man and Beast; how Objects strike the Senses and Mind.

Of the Immortality of the rational Soul.

Of Misery and Happiness.

Of Predestination and Providence.

That it is possible a Man may be inform'd of hidden Things, and what is not to be perceived by the Senses, both in Sleep and awake, and the Manner thereof. In Seven Discourses.

Of Dreams, and the several Sorts of them.

Of Inspiration, Prophecy, and the Degrees of Prophets, Miracles, Sorcery, Magick, an Evil Eye, *&c.* and living by little or no Food.

Of Opticks; the Theory of Sight, Light, and Colours.

Proving the Earth and Water to be of a Spherical Form.

Geogra-

Geographical Definitions and Paradoxes.
Abu Ali Sina's Advice.
A Treatise of Anatomy; with the Use and Functions of the several Parts.

Mijmouh TEB *v' Gherib.* By *Isof ben Mahommed ben Isof al Tabib.* Dedicated to the Great *Moghol Nessir o' din Mahommed Hemaiun.* Containing,

Hefz Seht, or Rules for the Preservation of Health, in Regard to Eating, Drinking, Exercise, Rest, &c.
Names of Medicines in the *Indian* Language.
Jameh al Fovaed, or an Account of all Diseases incident to the several Parts of the Body, from the Head downwards; with Remedies for each.
Cures for venemous Bites.
Receipts and Remedies for several Diseases. In Verse.

Dir ANASIR *v' havassha.* Concerning the Four Elements, and Five Senses.

RISSALIH *fovaed al Sabian*; or Instruction to Youth.

MIJMOUH *al Fazael dir elum Najum v' Ahkam.* A Treatise of Astronomy and Astrology; chiefly according to the *Indian* Method. By *Mahommed Fazel ebn Molana Abdal Shuckour.* Dedicated to *Shah Jehan.* Divided into 159 Chapters.

RISSALIH *dir Marefet Astrolab.* Concerning the Use of the Astrolabe.

RISSALIH *Heyit.* A Treatise of Geometry.

RISSALIH *Hissab.* Of Arithmetick.

HISSAB

HISSAB *aihl Tinjum.* The Accounts used by Astronomers.

Dir MUSSAHIT. Mensuration of Superficies, Solids, *&c.*

TAKHLIS *al Moftah.* In *Arabic.*

AROUZ. The Method of composing Verses of all Kinds.

REML, or Geomancy.
These Eight Treatises by *Abdalwahid Gilani.*

KHAFIAH *Aflatoun fi elum adad.* In *Arabic.* By *Shekh Malek Moghrebi.*

ELUM *Munazerih,* the Art of Disputing and Pleading.

ELUM *Hissab,* of Arithmetick, *&c.*

AL GEBR *v Mokabla,* of Algebra.

ELUM *Duvavin,* the Method of writing the best Stile; with Quotations from the most approved Authors, on several Subjects.

ELUM *Bideeih,* the Art of Composing and Ranging the several Parts of a Discourse in the best Manner.

ELUM *Maithal.*

ESTIARIH *or Elum Bayan.* By *Molana Asam o'din.*

ELUM *Zirast.* A Compleat Treatise of Husbandry and Gardening; wherein is set down the proper Season and Manner of managing all Kinds of

Grain, Fruit Trees, Greens, &c. The Prognosticks of the Weather; with an Account of the Physical Uses of the different Fruits and Herbs; how to destroy or drive away all Kinds of Vermin, or hurtful Reptiles; with the Method of making Wine.

MIZAN.

AJINASS FEAL.

PANJH GUNJH.

NEHV *Zeiti*.

MESBAH.

SHIRREH *Moula Jami*.

These Six Books are the Rudiments, Grammars, &c. that are necessary, in order to read, write, and pronounce the *Arabic* Language.

Seh RISSALIH *é Firandazi*. Three different Treatises on the Art of shooting with Bows and Arrows; with the Method of making Bows, and all Kinds of Arrows. The Art of Shooting on Horseback, at full Speed, either forwards or backwards.

ZEECH *Ulogh Beg*. By *Mahommed Mirza Ulogh Beg*, Grandson to *Temour*. It contains the different *Æra*'s, and Manner of counting Time, in all Places. The Festivals and remarkable Days, as all the different Nations hold them. The *Chinese* Computation of Time, and their *Æra*; with a Treatise of Astronomy and Astrology.

Dir KHAWASS *Chowb Chini, Cha, v Koava*. A Treatise on *China* Root, Tea, and Coffee; explaining the Natures and Physical Uses of them; with the Method

Method of preparing each, especially the *China*-Root, when used as a Diet-Drink in the *East*.

RISSALIH *Munteк*. A Treatise on Logick.

RISSALIH *Heyit*. Of Geometry, and the Doctrine of the Sphere.

RISSALIH *Arouz*. Another Treatise on the Art of making Verses.

Dir ELÚM *Khutt*. The Rules for writing the *Persian* Characters.

FARS NAMA. Wrote by *Nizam ed dîn Ahmed*, at the Command of *Shah Abbas* the IId. It is a Treatise on Horses; the Method of Riding and Managing them; the Marks by which they are known; with Receipts for all the Diseases incident to them.

ANÎS *al Ashakain*. The Method of reading and understanding the *Persian* Poets, and discovering the Beauties in them.

JUVAHR NAMA. A Treatise on all precious and valuable Stones, from the Diamond to an Aggat; the Places they are found in; with the Method of understanding them, and the Prices of each.

TOKVIM *fars*. A *Persian* Almanack.

DESTOUR *al amul*. Containing an Account of the Great *Moghol*'s Revenues from each Province in general, and each Town and Village in particular, throughout the Empire; with a List of all the Posts, Offices, *&c.* therein.

MAIMA, *namha Tarikha*

ELUM *Khourd ys hindi.*

HEPTHA *Ismaeli* (or, *Al alat alrouhaniat*) A Book of Machinery, containing about 300 Figures. It was composed by *Aboulézz Ismaeli al Gezeri*, and is divided into Six Parts.

Part I. Of strange Clocks and *Ciepsydras*.
II. Vessels of a strange Structure.
III. Musical Instruments.
IV. Hydraulick Engines, and Machines for raising weighty Things from deep Places.
V. Vases for Drinking, Plates, *&c.*
VI. Several Sorts of Machines.

wrote in *Arabic*, and dedicated to *Kara Erslan al Ariki*.

DICTIONARIES, VOCABULARIES, *&c.*

FARHANG *Jehanguiri*. By *Mir Jemal o'din Hossein Anjou on Nour o'din Hossan*. Dedicated to the Great *Moghol Nour o'din Mahommed Jehanguir*. 'Tis compiled from Forty Eight different Dictionaries, and contains all the Words modern or ancient, that properly belong to the *Persic* Language, with their true Vowels, and several Significations; each Signification authorized by a Quotation from some eminent Author. The Introduction is divided into Twelve Sections, relating to the several Changes the Letters and Words have undergone, the Syllables and Words that are added for Ornament in Writing; with a Copious Grammatical Dissertation, necessary to be perused, for the more perfect Knowledge of the *Persic* Language; with an Appendix, explaining

ing those Words of the *Lord*, which are not to be found in the Body of the Book.

LETIF *al Loghat*. By *Abdal Letîf bin Abdallah Kobîr*. A Dictionary in great Esteem.

FARHANG *adât al Fazl*. By *Kazzi Kadr Bedr Mahommed Dehlui*; known by the Name of *Bedharwal*. It contains chiefly, the ancient *Persic* Words.

AKD *al Juvahir*. A Vocabulary.

LOGHAT *Arabi, Farsi, o Turki*, Ditto.

NISSAB *Sabian*, Ditto.

FARHANG *Isofi*.

ALFAZ *Advîa*. By *Nasir o'dîn Mahommed Abdallah Hakîm Ain al Maluck Shirazi*. Dedicated to the Great *Mogol Shahab o'dîn Mahommed Shah Jehan*. It explains, in an Alphabetical Order, all Drugs and Medicines; their Qualities, Virtues, Doses, &c. with the Names of each, in the *Arabic*, *Persic*, and *Indian* Languages. To which is added, an Appendix, fully treating of Bezoars, Mummy, *China* Root, Tea, Coffee, and Tobacco.

LETTERS, FORMS OF WRITING, &c.

INCHA, *Abul Fazl*. In Three Tomes. Being Copies of all the Letters wrote by the Learned *Abul Fazl* (Secretary and Vizir to the Great *Mogol Jalal-o'dîn Mahommed Akbar*) in his Master's Name, to the several Kings and Powers he corresponded

reckoned with. They are reckoned the best writ of any Thing in that Language.

INSHA *Isfi*. Rules and Precedents for writing to all Degrees of People, from the King to the meanest Subject. Also Forms of all Kinds of Writs, Bonds, Receipts, *Firmâns*, Conveyances, Petitions, &c.

INSHA *Harkerrin v Burhemun*. Containing the same as *Insha Isofi*.

JINAB *Alami*. Forms of Letters to Parents, Relations, &c.

INSHA *Khot Niskh*.

SEHIFA SHAHI. By *Hossein ben Ali al Vaez al Kashfi*. Dedicated to *Sultan Hossein*.

It contains Rules and Precedents for writing to Princes, and all Ranks of People, in the most elegant Manner, and in so regular and well-disposed a Method, that Persons of an ordinary Capacity, with moderate Application, may soon attain to a very good Stile in that Language.

With several Copies of *Persic* and *Arabic* Writings, by the most eminent Masters that have been in *Persia*, *India*, or *Tartary*, for the Two last Centuries.

DIVINITY.

KORANS.

TAFSÎR *Bedavi*. *Beidavi*'s Comment on the *Koran*, in *Arabic*.

TAFSÎR

TAFSIR *Hosseini*. *Hossein Vaez's* Comment on the *Koran* in *Persic*.

TAFSIR *Kashani*. A large Comment on the *Koran*, according to the *Schia's* Doctrine. By *Fattek Allah ebn Shuckr Allah al Kashani*. In Two large Folio Volumes. The Two first Comments are according to the *Sunnis*.

MUISKAT. A Book containing all the authentic Traditions of *Mahommed*, in Regard to Points of Faith, Worship, *&c.* and what is not determined in the *Koran*, whether by Inspiration, or as his own Opinion, which are called *Hadîs*, *Koddissi*, *Nebvi*.

SHIRREH *Sourat al Zoha*. Explanation of the *Sourat al Zoha*, (a Chapter of the *Koran* so called) By *Baha ben Mahmud, ben Ibrahim*.

ORAD. Prayers for all the Set-Times of the Day and Night. By *Shekh Mahommed ebn Ibrahim al Kadri*.

ORAD *Mahommedan*. *Mahommedan* Prayers for the different Festivals, Fasts, Months, *&c.*

TORMIL *al Iman v Tokviet al iekay*. An Explanation of all the Articles of Faith in the *Mahommedan* Religion. By *Abdalbuck ben Seif o'din al Turk al Dehluvi al Bokhari*.

AL MOTMED *fil Motk[illegible] Akaed Tore[illegible]* Dedicated to *Silghar S[illegible]bak*. It is divided into Three Parts, and each of these Parts into Ten Chapters.

Part I. Concerning a Belief and Faith in God.

II. Ditto

II. Ditto in the Angels, Reveal'd Religion, and the Prophets.

III. Ditto, other particular Points; such as are most consentaneous to the true Orthodox and primitive Faith.

RI[illegible]IH *Shok afzo*. A Spiritual Work, by *Othman Birgi ben Alhedad*.

KUNZ *al fouued v Shirreh al Akaed*; of the same Nature as *Tokmîl al Imân* in Verse.

AITKAD NAMA; upon the same Subject. By *Molana Abd'orahman Jam*.

[illegible]AS *Souratha*. The Properties of each *Sourat*, or Chapter in the *Koran*, in Verse.

MIRAT *al Akhra*, concerning the Resurrection and last Judgment. Wrote in *Arabic*, by *Shekh Abd-ô'rahman*, and translated into *Persic*, by *Mahommed Ghani ebn Shekh abdal Ghofour*.

JAMEH ABASSI. A Collection of the *Mahommedan* Civil and Ecclesiastical Laws, according to the *Schias*. By *Baha o'dîn Mahommed Amuli*; dedicated to *Shah Abass*. In Twenty Parts; and each of these Parts divided into many Sections and Chapters.

Part. I. Purifications of all Kinds.

II. Prayers; their Forms, Times; what are necessary and supererogatory.

III. *Zikât*, [illegible]t is set aside of one's Effects [illegible]able and religious [illegible].

IV. Fasts, Festivals, *&c.*

V. The whole Ceremony of a Pilgrimage to *Mecca*.

VI. Alms,

VI. Alms, appropriating to pious Uses, Charity, and freeing Slaves, fighting with the Infidels; its several Laws and Rules.

VII. The Visitation of *Mahomed's*, *Mortisa Ali's*, and the *Imâms* Tombs, with the Days of their Births and Deaths.

VIII. Concerning Promises, Vows, Oaths, and the Performance of them.

IX. Buying, Selling, Sureties, Pledges, and Partnership.

X. Hiring, Renting, Lending, Pawning, and appointing Agents.

XI. Marrying for ever, and for a limited Time, with all its Laws and Rules.

XII. Divorces, and Rules.

XIII. The Laws of Hunting, and all Sorts of Game.

XIV. Killing of Animals for Food; what are lawful and forbidden.

XV. Laws and Rules of Eating, Drinking, and Loathing.

XVI. Law Suits, Cases of Equity, and how they are to be decided.

XVII. Concerning Contracts and Last Wills.

XVIII. Sharing of Heritages, Legacies, *&c.*

XIX. The Punishments that are by Law inflicted on Theft, Adultery, Fornication, Sodomy, *&c.*

XX. The Price of Blood for Murder, maiming, wounding, being bit by one's Dog, *&c.*

Ent[illegible] *Ayîne* [illegible] *umîn.* In Eighteen Parts, and each Part divided into many Chapters and Sections, of the above Subject, according to the *Schias.*

MIZMOUH KHANI. A Book of the *Mahommedan* Civil and Ecclesiastical Law in all its Branches. By *Kumal Krim*. Dedicated to *Beheram Khan*. At the latter End is a Calculation of what Number of Letters of each Sort there is in the *Koran*.

KASSIT AL FEKIH. A compleat Body of the *Mahommedan* Civil and Ecclesiastical Laws, according to the *Sunnis*, as regulated by *Abul Hanifa*; and wherever he differs from the other three *Malek*, *Shafi*, and *Hanbal*, Notice is taken thereof. These four last Books are what the *Muftis* and *Kazzis* are guided by, in whatever they decide or determine; and what directs all sorts of People, as to their Purifications, Prayers, and all other Rites and Ceremonies of their Religion.

KHOTBAH. A Form of the Harangue spoke by the *Mullah* on every *Friday* in the *Mosques*, wherein the Prince who governs is mention'd and pray'd for.

Jehan Ara Begum. Sister to *Aurengzebe*, her History of the *Ajmîr* Saints.

LUVAYIH TOHID. By *Molana Abdi Rahman Jami*. Being a Treatise of the *Tussuff* Religion, or the Eastern *Quietism*. With Rules how to acquire a Habit thereof.

Dir MAZHUR ARAMÎN. A Treatise wrote by an *Armenian* Priest, who turned *Mahommedan* in *Shah Hossein* King of *Persia* his Time, or 1123 of the *Hegira*; in which he endeavours to expose the *Christian* Religion as practised by the *Armenians* and *Roman Catholicks*; by quoting several Parts of their Missal, and describing their Forms of Worship. It is dedicated to *Shah Hossein*.

The

The ZEND of *Zeratusht*, in the ancient *Persic* Character.

A TRANSLATION of all the Remains of *Zeratusht*, or *Zoroaster*, into *Persic*; with several other Pieces, as follows.

Liturgy of the antient *Persians*.
Concerning Women, Heaven and Hell.
Dialogue betwixt *Minukherad* and *Ormisd*.
Account of the antient Kings.
Account of the several Books of their Religion, before they were destroyed by *Alexander*, and what was the Subject of each.
Zeratusht's Conference with *Ormisd*.
Account of the first peopling of the Earth; with the several Excellencies peculiar to the Month *Firvirdin*.
Concerning the Soul and Death.
Account of the Creation.
Ormisd and *Ahriman*, the Two Principles.
The Guardian Angels.
Religion explain'd.
Explanation of some Terms used in their Religious Offices.
Concerning the Existence and Nature of a Deity.
Explanation of the 101 Names of GOD.
Of the Nature of Sin, necessary good Works, Works of Supererogation, Charity, Obedience, &c.
State of the Blessed in Heaven, and Wicked in Hell.
Resurrection, and last Judgment.
Dosatan Noisherwan, } History of those and the ceding Times, interm[illegible] with Morality.
Furrukhnama,
Dastan Mirghoutzin.
Ardaverafnama.

Letters from the *Gebers* in *Persia* to those in *India*.

Of the Good Angels Assistance, and the Evil's Resistance.

Account of *Zeratusht*'s Conference with God, in Regard to the Soul; the several Kinds of Sin, Women, Worship, Religion; the Worship of the Fire; *Gurstasp*'s Soul; State of the Blessed and Wicked. A Prediction.

Of Marriage; Purifications in Women; Offices to the Dead; Religious Duties; the Merits of each explained.

How particular Angels preside over every Action.

The *Ghahanbar*s and Festivals to be observed.

The Ceremony of the *Kusti*.

Continuance of the World; the Resurrection, its Manner, the Method of Judgment and Punishment; how the Soul is disposed of after Death.

Ketab sud dir; in Verse. [illegible] 100 Parts.

Mar nama.

Mudit Dunia o' ajaebba.

Explanation of a Confession of Sins.

Prayers, *&c.* to be used in setting out on a Journey, or commencing any Work.

The Purifications that are to be used on all Occasions.

Several Questions and Answers relating to Cases in Religion and Law.

Rules in Eating, Drinking, *&c.*

Worship of the Sun and Fire.

Another Conference of *Zeratusht*'s with God.

Ahkam Hakim Jamasp, concerning several Things in the Time of *Gurstasp*.

Predictions concerning the latter Times.

Account of the ancient Kings.

Prayers

Prayers of sundry Sorts.
Poems on the Months, and their Guardian Angels.
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TIRJUMMA *Bhagvit Gîta*. A Translation into *Persic*, of the *Gîta*. This Book the *Brahmins* call, *The Marrow of the Vedh*. It gives a Light into the most mysterious Part of their Religion, and explains the Substance of the *Vedh*.

MUJMAU *al Bahrain*, (*i. e.* the uniting of both Seas.) A Treatise wrote by *Sultan Dara Shekowh*, eldest Brother to *Auring-zebe*; in which he endeavours to reconcile the *Brahmins* Religion with the *Mahommedan*; citing Passages from the *Koran*, to prove the several Points. It was his writing this Book, and conversing so much with the *Brahmins*, that chiefly lost him the Empire; for *Auring-zebe* made a Pretence of that, and consequently had all the bigotted *Mahommedans* to join him.

The GOSPEL of *Geronimo Xavier*. — In *April* 1582. The Great *Mogul Jilal o'dîn Mahommed Akbar* (who

A CATALOGUE of

(who was fixed to the Religion) wrote a Letter to the King of Portugal, by *Seyd Mazuffer*, desiring to send him a Translation of the Scriptures into *Arabic* or *Persic*; and at the same Time, one (who was capable of explaining to him the *Christian* Religion. — One *Geronima Xavier*, a Jesuit, and Relation to the famous St. *Francis Xavier*, was appointed for that Purpose, who having learned the *Persic* Language (as he says) in the Space of Eight Years; with the Assistance of *Molana Abdal Sattar ben Kassum Lahori*, composed this Book, and presented it to the *Moghol* in *April* 1602.

The *Moghol*'s Letter, which is curious in its Kind, is to be found in the first Volume of *Ibn Abul Fazl*. This Manuscript is the Original one that *Xavier* presented to the *Moghol*.

FINIS.